He makes sacrifices on
important occasions, especially for rain and for victory in war, and it is his duty to provide cattle for the sacred herds of Nyikang at Nyilual and Wau and a canoe for Nyikang's shrine at Nyibodho. Nyikang, the culture hero of the Shilluk, their first king, and the creator of their nation, is immanent in him and this makes him the double pivot of Shilluk society, the political head of the nation and the centre of the national cult. The kingship is the common symbol of the Shilluk people and, Nyikang being immortal, an abiding institution which binds past and present and future generations.

The correspondence of political structure with religious cult can be seen at every point of the structure. The territorial segments of the nation and their association with lineages is, as we have noted, validated by the myth of Nyikang's parcelling out of his conquests among the clans, the strands of which are, moreover, caught up into a single mythological point, Nyikang. Some trace their descent from his companions, some from his collateral relatives, others from the original inhabitants of the country conquered by him, and yet others from men who played some part in his saga. The lineage heads who are the chiefs of settlements have ritual duties to the kingship: in

i.e., the King. - Analyst

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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man of that name; should this *gol* become strong enough, it will take a new name and become *kwa* Kako. This agrees well with Westermann's statement that *gol* means enclosure, home, homestead, family. It is seen in the names of some sections, e.g. Golobogu, corresponding with the *kwa* Obogo of Westermann.

Several hamlets in the midst of their cultivation patches form a *fane*, which might be called a village group, under a chief (*jago*). A number of *fane*, each with its own grazing ground (*wak*), form a *fodo* (district), a number of *fodo* going to form each of the ten provinces of the Shilluk kingdom.

Fenikang, which is relatively large for a Shilluk village, consists of only two clans, the Golobogu and Pameiti, both traditionally attached to the great shrine. As their homesteads are built in two groups round the dancing space by the shrine, Fenikang corresponds more to our idea of a village than do most of the groups of isolated Shilluk hamlets, while Fashoda, with perhaps forty to fifty homesteads, has a special organization since it is inhabited only by royal wives and a few herdsmen. As a rule the number of homesteads in any Shilluk village is not great; there are, however, some large "villages". Atwadoi, north of Kodok, is, or was, the largest, and in 1903 was said to contain 120 homesteads.

As regards the clans themselves, Westermann gives a formidable list[1]; actually many of these are not clans; he mistakenly raises a number of princely families to clan rank (e.g. *kwa* Nyadwai, the descendants of King Nyadwai) and he also includes a *kwa* Nikai, which, as Hofmayr points out,[2] stands for *kwa* Nyakai, i.e. the family of Nyakai, the crocodile mother of Nyakang (pp. 85–6) who is "related" to every member of the royal family. Whether families founded by foreigners have attained true clan rank, e.g. *kwa* Okogi, we cannot say, but it may well be so.

There are numerous observances connected with animals, including some which might be called taboos, but we did not ourselves discover any definite evidence of totemism, though as already stated clan exogamy prevails. On the other hand both Westermann and Hofmayr consider that totemism exists. Westermann gives the following example:—

> "The ostrich and the crow and Deng were split out of the gourd, all three are three-twin children. Deng went into a certain village, the ostrich went into the bush, and the crow flew up. We were born by Deng. Akwoe (the

[1] Op. cit., 127–34. [2] Op. cit., 237, where Westermann's list is criticised.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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son of Deng) came in the time of Duwat . . . he came into the Shilluk country to the people of the king (that is to Fashoda). And when we became many some went to Fenikang Odurojo, but some remained at Fenidwai. Thus we separated from each other. . . . That is the beginning of (the village of) Adefalo—the ostrich and crow are of our family. They are not eaten by us on account of the *dwalo* sickness." [1]

Westermann states that the common ancestor to whom members of a clan trace descent is in most cases a man, but that "some of the clans claim descendency from an animal".[2] Hofmayr states that the number of totems among the Shilluk is small, and gives the following examples: ostrich, hippopotamus, Varanus lizard, giraffe, *gu* (a fish), a gourd, *ayiado* (a bean), *cwa* (tamarind), and *tuko* (hearthstone). This seems to imply a wide distribution of particular clans. He also cites *curro* (a fish), the crocodile, the crested crane, and the knee-joint as totems of Tonga in the extreme south.[3]

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As to the origin of these totems, if totems they be, we were informed that the prohibition to eat the fish *curro* was directly due to Nyakang, who told his people to bring him all the fish they caught in the river. Although they brought him many fish, they kept back one, and Nyakang, who knew this, as in dreams men are aware of things happening at a distance, told his people, i.e. all the Shilluk, that this fish must always be unlawful food to them. Concerning the crocodile, we were informed that all might eat it except those possessed by Nyakang or his mother, who if they ate it would die, and for this reason many *ajuago* might not eat it. Further questions on totemic lines elicited the statement: "If they [a group] are called thus [an animal or clan name] because it is a name let them eat him; if he was an ancestor [they] would not eat him."

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Considering the data just cited we are struck by the fact that Westermann's example is almost in the typical Dinka form of totemism (twin birth of totem animal and human progenitor of clan), while the example given by Hofmayr is from Tonga at the extreme south of the Shilluk country, where, as we discovered, mixed marriages resulting in a mingling of Dinka and Shilluk cults were by no means uncommon. We are then inclined to consider that Shilluk totemism—as far as it exists—is due to Dinka influence.[4] In any

[1] Op. cit., 178–9. [2] Op. cit., 127. [3] Op. cit., 236.

[4] Hofmayr quotes a Shilluk text in which belief in a fish, a woman, and a gourd as ancestors is ascribed to the Dinka (op. cit., p. 235), i.e. in principle it agrees with that given by Westermann as applying to the Shilluk. Since writing the above we have heard from Mr. Heasty of a *kwa* Jang with the ostrich as totem, ostrich, crow, and man having emerged from a gourd as described on p. 41. Jang is the common Nilotic word for Dinka. Mr. Heasty, who does not regard the Shilluk as truly totemic, adds, "certainly many of the *kwa* have no totem."

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Juok, "May Juok guard you," while a sick man may cry, *Er ra Juok*, "Why, oh Juok?"; but on the whole, Juok is so linked with Nyakang in the Shilluk mind that he is seldom approached in prayer without the mention of Nyakang (and sometimes of his son Dag). Indeed so obvious is this association that the Rev. D. S. Oyler writes: "They never pray to God without invoking an intercessor," [1] and gives the following prayer as an example:—

> "We praise you, you who are God. Protect us, we are in your hands, and protect us, save me. You and Nikawng you are the ones who created, people are in your hands, and it is you Nikawng, who are accustomed to assist God to save, and it is you who give the rain. The sun is yours, and the river is yours, you who are Nikawng. You came from under the sun, you and your father, you two saved the earth, and your son Dok, you subdued all the peoples. The cow (for sacrifice) is here for you, and the blood will go to God and you . . ." [2]

We do not know of any definite evidence of sacrifice to Juok only; even in the all-important sacrifice for rain Nyakang is also invoked. Juok, vaguely associated with the firmament, is recognized as the creator, though now showing but little interest in his creatures. The prayers offered directly to him, collected by Hofmayr, are such dance songs as the following (we have paraphrased Hofmayr's literal translations):—

> "I pray to God (Juok), God the Giver (Juokatang), God the Protector (Juokagim); I have taken [God] to me and have become fearful to my enemies so that they scarcely dare attack me." "The Shilluk when satiated chatter like crows, they forget Juok; the Shilluk full of beer forget Juok." And a song composed by King Yor: "I pray to Juok alone for he directs the spears, spear thrusts are of Juok." [3]

Two subsidiary uses of the word Juok may be mentioned. There is an expression *pan Juok*, "the country of Juok". We formed the opinion that though this implied no local habitation it was vaguely associated with the dead; Hofmayr is more definite, regarding *pan Juok* as the place of Nyakang and the ancestors, to be reached after many months journeying in the bush. Certain diseases may in a general way be described as *juok* (though each has its own name), this term also being applied in folk-tales to men possessing supernormal attributes. Summing up, we may say that Juok is the Creator, perhaps vaguely associated with the firmament, but certainly having

[1] "Nikawng's Place in the Shilluk Religion": *S.N. & R.*, i, 1918, 283.
[2] Loc. cit. [3] Op. cit., 197–201.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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776 as woman.[1] Certain of the Shilluk kings, i.e. particular incarnations
775 of Nyakang, tend to be identified with particular species of animals.
825 Nyakang, Dag, and Nyadwai all appear as a white bird called *okak*, or, rarely, as a giraffe; if the animal comes straight towards the village in which the shrine stands, exhibiting no sign of fear, it is concluded that it is a spirit animal, and the attendants at the tomb sacrifice a sheep, or perhaps even a bullock. Father Banholzer adds "long-bodied grasshoppers" and "a kind of snake called *red*" as forms in which Nyakang appears. Dr. Lambie of the American Mission informed us that unusual behaviour on the part of almost any land animal would lead the Shilluk to look upon the creature as a temporary incarnation of Nyakang, adding that unusual behaviour on the part of a water animal would be put down to the animal incarnating the spirit of Nikaiya (Nyakai); so "if a little bird flies into the midst of a crowd of people and is not frightened, or attracts someone's notice in a special manner, they say 'Nyakang'". Occasionally Nyakang appears as a bull; in 1910 a very old Shilluk of the royal family said that in his youth, fifty or more years earlier, Nyakang appeared as a white bull, when the king ordered sacrifices to be made in addition to those already offered by the local chief.

We may add an experience of our own. Yur Adodit takes the form of an insect called *akwan* (Ar. *gamal en nebi*), which appears to be the larval form of one of the *Mantidae*; we only discovered this important belief by the fortunate accident of an *akwan* settling upon our camera while we were making inquiries near the grave shrine of Yur Adodit, which was being repaired. We were about to examine the insect when we were told by Col, whom we had been questioning, not to touch it. The *jago*, with his face showing the greatest pleasure, took the insect in his hands and reverentially carried it to the shrine, only the base of which had been built up, and deposited it on a leafy branch which was thrust into the ground in the centre of the shrine, i.e. over the grave of Yur Adodit. Col told us that the appearance of Yur Adodit in his animal form showed that he was favourably disposed to us and was not displeased at our inquiries concerning the shrine, and after this incident it was distinctly easier to obtain

[1] 773 [1] According to an account, perhaps of Anuak origin or at least showing Anuak influence, collected by the Rev. J. K. Griffin on the Sobat river, Nikaiya is physically part human part crocodile. In the beginning Juok created a great white cow, Deung Adok, who came up out of the Nile. She gave birth to a man child, whose grandchild, Ukwa, married two sisters, of whom one, Nikaiya, or Nyakai, the lower part of whose body was that of a crocodile, brought forth Nyakang, who inherited his mother's saurian envelope (*The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*, 1906, 197).

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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and habitat. The spirits of the bush are we believe in the main unimportant, but the river people and their river cattle play a more considerable part in the mythology of the people. One of the groups of people whom Nyakang found in the land were fish-men, or river-men with the power of turning into fish, while the mysterious cows whose dung provided the "ashes of denying" (p. 102) had their original home in the river.

It is convenient to consider the cult of the dead Shilluk kings apart from that of Nyakang at his cenotaph shrines, but it must be remembered that in every king there is immanent the spirit of Nyakang, so that the worship rendered them at their grave shrines is ultimately only part of the cult of Nyakang.

Like the cenotaph shrines of Nyakang the royal grave shrines are called *kengo*, as opposed to the graves of commoners for which the word is *roro*.[1] Though smaller, they resemble the shrines of Nyakang in appearance, for the roofs of their constituent huts terminate in ostrich egg and spear-head. The guardians or priests (*bareth*) of these shrines are of the same class as those of the *kengo Nyakang*, viz. elderly women, often widows of the dead king, and old men, his former servants, or their descendants who have reached the requisite age, or, as a last resource when none of these can be found, old women or old men not specially connected with the dead king. Just as no one except the *bareth Nyakang* is allowed to enter the shrines of Nyakang, so no stranger may enter the royal grave shrines. A royal daughter never becomes a guardian of a shrine, but she may enter the grave shrine of her dead father and rub her hands on its floor for a blessing whenever she likes, as may the royal sisters. It seemed that these privileges did not extend to the shrines of other dead kings, nor even to the enclosed space around them. Should the spirit of a dead king appear to a royal daughter or sister in a dream and demand an offering, she would take a sheep to the guardians of the tomb and give it to one of them to sacrifice in the same way as a commoner. There are cattle belonging to the grave shrines of the kings, and offerings are made as at the shrines of Nyakang. Thus, when the millet crop threatens to fail, or epidemic sickness to attack the cattle, Nyakang or one of his successors will appear to someone in a dream and demand a sacrifice. This is told to the king, who will immediately send a cow and a bullock to one or more of the shrines

[1] So kings do not "die", but "go away", and in addressing the king a special court language is employed.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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756 waning, but when it was suggested that perhaps an *ajuago* might then have connection this was strenuously denied.

753 Perhaps the commonest cause of sickness was the entrance into a person of the spirit of one of the divine kings, a cure being effected when the spirit could be persuaded to leave its involuntary host. [643] We believe that only the early kings were thought to produce illness in this manner, and certainly the three or four cases into which we inquired were all said to be possessed by Dag. One of these cases, [751] a woman who recovered after two sheep had been sacrificed to Dag, wore bead anklets, and amidst the beads there were threaded small pieces of the conchae of the ears of the goats. These anklets were considered protective against future possession by Dag.

695 Oaths are sworn by Nyakang, or on one of the holy spears from the shrine of Nyakang. Westermann notes that the latter form is used only in judicial procedure: a sheep is killed, and both parties are smeared with its blood, after which they swear by the spear, perjury being followed by death. In swearing by Nyakang his name is often coupled with that of one of the villages in which he has a shrine, e.g. a man may swear by Nyakang of Akurwa. The early kings may also be invoked by name, especially Dag.[1]

695 Reference has been made to the cattle belonging to Nyakang and kept at his shrines. In common parlance these are "cows of 773 Nyakang", but besides these there was a mythical herd of mysterious cows from the river also known as the "cows of Nyakang", and from their dung were obtained the "ashes of denying", described by Westermann as follows:—

> "Once Nyikang caught a cow in the river. . . . It had no ears or horns. This cow was the beginning of a sacred herd. . . . They live in the river and come out to feed at night. . . . some say the Dervishes took them, while others affirm that it was the Turks. . . . The ashes were made by burning the dung of the sacred cattle. They are preserved at Wau and other villages dedicated to Nyikang, and are applied in . . . cases of adultery. . . . When the woman has confessed, but the man denies, they take recourse to the 'ashes of denying'. An old chief, taking a spear in his hand, stands erect, and offers the following prayer: 'You Nyikang, the ashes are yours! If this man has not had intercourse with this woman may he escape! But if he has had intercourse with this woman, may he die! If this woman accuses falsely may he escape!' After this the chief takes some of the ashes on his hand and strikes the man with it. Then the one who has sworn falsely, will die."[2]

[1] Op. cit., xliii. [2] Op. cit., xliv.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

latter; when a person is ill, they may say: *gɛ́ jwɔ̀k* "Why, Jwok?" The sudden and violent death of a man is regarded as being caused by Jwok. But I do not think there is any ethical motive in our sense underlying this belief; Jwok has simply killed the man for having offended him, probably without knowing it. The name of Jwok is used in a favourable sense in the following phrases of salutation: when a person arrives, he is saluted: *yí kɨ̀l jwɔ̀k* "you have brought Jwok"; to one starting on a journey they say: *yí wíɲɛ́ jwɔ̀k* "you may hold fast Jwok". — Jwok has also the meaning of "sickness"; the reason for this is the conviction that Jwok is the causer of sickness; "he is sick", they express by "he has Jwok", "Jwok is upon him".

Although the Shilluk does certainly not connect with the word Jwok the same notion as we do with "God", Jwok is doubtless the only word fit for being used in the Christian sense. It is true the word occurs in stories in rather a disrespectful sense, any being with more than natural powers being called a Jwok; but this is so in analogous cases with many African peoples, and will almost always be so in heathen languages; it can therefore not form a real obstacle for using the word in Christian preaching and literature.

[In older literature the name Kelge appears as that of the "creator of the Shilluks." I have never heard this name].

NYIKANG AND THE ORIGION OF THE SHILLUKS

The tradition on the origin of man or rather of the Shilluks leads to the second and most important part of the religious practice of the people, viz. the worship of Nyikang. This tradition runs thus: A white or rather greyish cow, *ɟàak adak*, came out of the river; she brought forth a gourd; when this gourd split, a man and animals came forth out of it (vide page 178). The name of this man was *Kɛlɛ; Kɛlɛ* begat *Omaŋ*, who begat *Wat Mɛ̃l* ("son of *Mɛ̃l*"); *Wat Mɛ̃l* begat Okwa. Okwa used to go to the riverside; here he met repeatedly two maidens who had come from out the water, they were very beautiful and had long hair, but the lower part of their bodies was like the form of a crocodile. One day Okwa seized the girls and carried them away. Their screams brought out their father, who till then had not been seen by Okwa. His face and the left side of his body were like human, but his right side was green of colour and had the form of a crocodile. When asked he declared his name to be Odiljil, he protested against his daughters being taken away by force, but afterwards consented. Okwa married the girls. The names of the two maidens were Nyakayo and Ongwat (*Nakɨ̃yɔ* and *Oiwɛ̄t*). One of Nyakayo's sons was Nyikang; according to some this was the eldest child, while others say he was the youngest. Nyakayo had more children beside Nyikang; of one son the name is known, he was *Omɛ́i*; the names of her daughters are (according to A. E. 8.) Ad Dui, Ari Umker, and Bunyung. Okwa's second wife Ongwat gave birth to one son, Ju or *Bɔcɔŋ*. Okwa married

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others one against the sun and his son; vide page 159.

When he felt his end approaching, he assembled all the chiefs of his kingdom for a splendid festival. While all were merry, suddenly a great wind arose, and scattered all those present. In this moment Nyikang took a cloth, wound it tightly round his neck, and thus choked himself.[1]

But many Shilluks firmly believe that Nyikang is still alive. The Rev. Oyler writes to me: "When I asked how Nyikang died, they were filled with amazement at my ignorance and stoutly maintained that he never died. If he dies, all the Shilluks will die. He, *Dāk*, and five other kings ascended to heaven, where Nyikang prays for the Shilluks (!). They say that he disappeared as the wind".

HOW NYIKANG IS ADORED.

Nyikang is the ancestor of the Shilluk nation and the founder of the Shilluk dynasty. He is worshipped, sacrifices and prayers are offered to him; he may be said to be lifted to the rank of a demi-god, though they never forget that he has been a real man. He is expressly designated as "little" in comparison with God.

In almost every village there is a little hut dedicated to Nyikang, or to some other ancient king. In form it is like the common houses, but much smaller and more slender. On its walls sometimes rough drawings in white, red, and black colour are seen, consisting simply in line-ornaments or representing animals. These drawings are made by women, with white, red and black earth, and are renewed every year before the chief prayers are offered. These huts are commonly called *kɛt rit* "place of the king" i. e. of Nyikang. Besides these small huts they have a number of greater temples, which are in form like the Shilluk-hut, but of much larger size. They are found in most of the villages devoted to Nyikang. These "sacred villages" are, Akuruwar, Wau,[2] Fenyikang, Nyibodo *(Ńibɔ̈dɔ)*, *Otɔńɔ*, Nyelwal, *Oshārɔ*, *Otigɔ*, *Dādigɔ*. These houses, the small as well as the larger, are the places where Nyikang is worshipped. In them, at least in some, a number of reliques are preserved, which are considered holy and are held in great veneration. Among these are a statue of Nyikang made of ambach-wood; the holy spear, drum, and shield of Nyikang, a digging stick, ancient metal ornaments and clothes, etc. Spoils from wars are also dedicated to Nyikang, and are preserved in the temples.

In times of need, when sickness or war are threatening, but above all when rain does not come in due time, the people assemble round the house of Nyikang and pray to him. This is done by dancing and at the same time singing prayers. At the beginning of the rainy season, when they are about to plant dura, the regular chief prayers take place; on this occasion an animal is slain as a sacrifice to Nyikang. Before the transaction of any serious business the elders of the village assemble around the temple of Nyikang, to ask for his counsel.

[1] Till the subjection of the Shilluks by the British all succeeding Shilluk kings have finished their lives by the same form of death.

[2] This Wau is not the place in the Bahr Ghasal Province, but is situated on the left bank of the White Nile between Tanfikia and Kodok.

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773 a third wife, whose eldest child, a son, was called Duwat *(Duwɛt)*. The name *Dimǫ* also occurs as that of a son of Okwa, but I could not make out who his mother was. Nyikang was in form partly a man, and partly a crocodile.

[The exact pronunciation of Nyikang is *Ńɟkàńǫ̀*, but the final *ǫ* is often omitted: *Ńɟkàń*; the form *Ńdkàń* also occurs; in older literature the name is written Nyakam, Nyekom. *Ńɟkàńǫ̀* is a composition from *ńi*, *ńa* "son" and *Kāńǫ*, which is probably a proper name; thus *Ńɟkàńǫ* means: "son of *Kāńǫ*." The name *Kāńǫ* occurs also in *Okāńǫ*, which is composed from *O* and *Kāńǫ* and means "descendant of *Kāńǫ*; *Okāńǫ* is another name designating the Shilluk people. But about *Kāńǫ* the traditions, as far as they are kown, say nothing. — Frequently Nyikang is simply called *rīɟ* "king".]

776 775 Nyakayo *(Ńakāyǫ)*, the mother of Nyikang, exists up to the present time. Her residing place is about the junction of the Sobat and the White Nile. This is remarkable, as according to the tradition she did not emigrate with her son Nyikang, and yet does not now live in her original place, but in the Shilluk country. She sometimes appears from out the river, generally in the form of a crocodile, but at times in other forms. No worship or sacrifices are offered to her, but when a man or animal is taken by a crocodile, this is attributed to *Ńakāyǫ*. When she does this, the people must not complain; it is rather an honour, when she takes her sacrifice from a village. NYAKAO, THE MOTHER OF NYIKANG

695 In dubious judicial cases Nyakayo is resorted to as judge. The accused one is tied in a river, and a goat is bound and laid on the river-bank near by. This latter is done to allure a crocodile. If the accused one is taken by the crocodile (i. e. by Nyakayo), he was guilty. But not infrequently the delinquent, from fear of being lacerated by the crocodile, confesses his crime.

773 Between Nyikang and one of his brothers, probably Duwat, there arose a quarrel after their father's death; according to some, about who should follow the father in the chieftainship, others say it was a quarrel about cattle. As they did not come to an agreement, Nyikang together with *Omǫ́*, his brother, and his half-brother Ju (and his three sisters), left the country,[1] seeking for a new abode; when he started, *Duwɛt* threw a digging stick after him, wherewith to dig the ground (or to bury the dead). Several tribes whom he met on his way, joined him, thus increasing the band of his followers. Nyikang settled about the mouth of the Sobat, and here founded the kingdom of the Shilluks. To increase the population of his new foundation, he changed animals and fabulous beings whom he found in the place, into men, built villages for them, and made them his subjects. NYIKANG'S EMIGRATION

While residing in the Shilluk country, Nyikang fought many wars, among NYIKANG'S END

[1] "acquiring wings and flying away to the mouth of the Sobat", A. E. S.

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773 THE COWS OF NYIKANG

The natives frequently speak of the "cows of Nyikang". This expression is used in two different meanings, one mythological and one real.

Once Nyikang caught a cow in the river in a fish-net. It had no ears or horns. This cow was the beginning of a sacred herd; if anyone touched them who was not of their attendants, he died. They live in the river and come out to feed at night. This herd was carried away; some say the Dervishes took them, while others affirm that it was the Turks. From the dung of this herd the "ashes of denying" were gained. The ashes were made by burning the dung of the sacred cattle. They are preserved at Wau and other villages dedicated to Nyikang, and are applied in ordeals, when cases of adultery are to be tried. When the woman has confessed, but the man denies, they take recourse to the "ashes of denying". An old chief, taking a spear in his hand, stands erect and offers the following prayer: "You Nyikang, the ashes are yours! If this man has not had intercourse with this woman, may he escape! But if he has had intercourse with the woman, may he die! If this woman accuses falsely, may she escape!" After this the chief takes some of the ashes on his hand and strikes the man with it. Then the one who has sworn falsely, will die.

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The other application of the term is to cows devoted to Nyikang by the king. Each year the king gives a steer and a cow to the villages in which the cows of Nyikang are kept. The male is killed and used for food. If any person not belonging to the attending herdsmen, eats of the meat of these animals, he becomes a servant of Nyikang, and must take up his residence in that village. The female is kept for breeding purposes. The *Kwa Obɔ̈ŋ* (vide page 130) herd these cattle. The chief of these villages of Nyikang seems to be Wau. If an outsider tried to milk one of these cows, he would die.

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The third factor in the religion of the Shilluks is the *djwɔ̈ŋó*, and what is connected with him; *djwɔ̈ŋó* is the witch doctor or sorcerer; the word is probably derived from *jwɔ̈k* "God", and would then mean: "one who is dependent on God", or "who has to do with God". As his most prominent business is to procure rain, Europeans generally call him rain-maker. He is the mediator between the people and Nyikang; he leads the dances and prayers to Nyikang, and presides at the sacrificial ceremonies. He heals also sicknesses by administering charms. Sick people apply to him with the present of a sheep or goat, or even an ox; the animal is killed, and the contents of its stomach are laid on the sick person's body; or the skin of the animal is cut into strips and these are fastened below the knee of the patient. This is also applied as a protection against dangers on a journey. When in the dry season the cattle are brought across the river, the sorcerer has to prepare charms to protect them from being seized by crocodiles. Besides this he is able to perform miracles, to kill

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a man by witchcraft, to prevent rain, and to cause the cattle to be barren. — There exist two kinds of sorcerers, the one whose functions are just mentioned, who plays an important and mostly beneficient *rôle* in public life and the official religion of the community, and another one whose doings are secret and who works for mischief. If this latter is convicted of his evil doings, he may be severely fined, or even sentenced to death. — Besides these the word *jal yuŋ* "man of medicine" is sometimes used; whether this is a synonym to *ajwŋgo*, or whether it designates still a third class of "witch"-, or ordinary "doctor", I do not know.

When possessed by a spirit (or by Jwok?) the sorcerers become ecstatic; the same seems to be the case with a newly elected king; here it seems to be the spirit of Nyikang, which falls on his follower, vide page 149. ECSTASY

The texts contain many mythological tales and allusions, which may in former times have formed part of the strictly religious belief of the people, but exist now merely as historical traditions, without having any active meaning to the present generation; this domain of their mental life is, however, not sufficiently known as yet to allow a decisive judgment. A reminiscence of sun-service is evident from 55, page 166. The Nile and Sobat are populated by water-people, who in figure are partly like men, partly like crocodiles or fish. They had, in the past, many intercourses with men. — According to some older writers the spirits of the Nile are worshipped. They have their own cattle-herds, which live with them in and on the banks of the Nile. They often dive up from the water, chiefly in misty weather. When a cow is fished out of the river, it is placed under the protection of the Nile-spirits and the sun-god [1]. MYTHOLOGY

The Shilluks have two expressions which may be translated by "soul" or "spirit" of a living person: *wei* and *tipŋ*; *wei* means "breath", and is the life-giving factor in man; the meaning of *tipŋ* is "shadow" of a man, or "image", as seen when looking into clear, still water. — The spirit of a dead person is called *anɔkŋ*; the word is derived from *nɔŋŋ* to kill; *anɔkŋ* probably means "one who kills", or "who is killed". The *anɔkŋ* is feared. SOUL, SPIRIT

On the abode of deceased persons the Shilluks have but vague ideas; in one of the texts the dead are called "the people of the village of God", *ji pā jwok*. Whether they have a general belief in a life after death, is not known. ABODE OF THE DECEASED

Islam does up to now not find much sympathy with the Shilluks. They prefer their own religion to that of foreigners. Only a few people who have for a longer time lived in close touch with Mohammedans, chiefly those who have served as soldiers, adopt the religion of Mohammed, or at least wear Mohammedan amulets beside their own charms. It is admirable that those people, Shilluks, Dinkas Anywaks, and Nuers, though having lived for centuries side ISLAM

[1] This doubtlessly relates to the cows of Nyikang, vide the preceding.

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614 are known for being well versed in the history and traditions of their people. The names are given in the succession in which the natives enumerated them. If there are two different traditions of a clan, the second is introduced by: "Diff."

The word Kwa means "descendant."

[Hofmeyer in "Anthropos" enumerates 13 clans and gives some remarks on four of them.]

614 ●773 *1. Kwa-Ajal,* was founded by Jal, one of the men who came with Nyikang from his earlier home. They live at Nyelwak. They lay out the circle for building the house of Nyikang. — Diff.: the clan was founded by Milo, who named it after his son Jal. Milo waged war with the sun, and got a cow. When Nyikang saw it he was pleased and asked, where he got it. On learning it had been gained from the sun, he sent Milo back for more. The latter managed to steal several; but the sun became angry and burnt Milo and his people. Eventually a battle occurred, in which the sun succeeded in killing all the cattle except a pair of calves, which Milo saved by wrapping them in his cloth. He got them safely to earth.

2. Kwa Mal, was founded by a man and a woman who came down from above *(mal).* They left their children on earth and ascended again. — Diff.: they died on earth; their home is Malakal.

2a. Kwa Lek, was founded by two celestial beings, a man and his wife. It gets its name from the large wooden pestle that the Shilluks use in crushing their dura. They quarrelled over a lek; the man wanted to use it to stir the cow dung, at the same time the woman said she needed it for crushing dura. Neither would yield to the other. Seizing the lek they fought over it. So violent was their quarrel that they fell to earth. Nyikang captured them and told them to settle at Malakal. The woman taught the people to make beer. Later they escaped and returned to the skies. At the crowning of the king their descendants strike the people with whips of sheep skin. The lek over which they quarrelled, is now at Malakal. — Diff.: they died at Malakal; and this is the same division as No 2, and should not be counted as a separate division. —

[This last remark is no doubt right, as both *2* and *2a* are of the same "celestial" origin; moreover Hofmeyer in "Anthropos" gives a description of the kwa Mal which is identical with that of our kwa Lek. W.]

3. Kwa Oman, was founded by a woman who was a wife of Nyikang. They do not appear to have a special function; live at Ogot. — Diff.: was founded by a man named Oman; they help to build the house of Nyikang. Oman was found by Nyikang in the Shilluk country.

4. Kwa Mon, was founded by Mon; Mon was found in the Shilluk country

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by Nyikang and became his servant. They help to build the house of Nyikang at Wau. They live at Ogot. — Identical with 3?

5. Kwa Ju, or Kwa Jok, was founded by Ju, a half-brother of Nyikang on his father's side. Ju built the house for Dak. The Kwa Ju build the three houses of Dak in Fĭlo on the White Nile. When they have finished building the house, an ox is killed by a half-brother of the king.

They live at Mainam.

6. Kwa Nyadwai, was founded by Nyadwai, an ancient king of the Shilluks; he was the son of Tugo. They are found at Apio and Adit-deang. They help to build the house of the king. — The son of Nyadwai was a servant of Abudok.

7. Kwa Gwar, was founded by Gwar, a servant of king Dokot. They build the houses of Dokot in three villages. They give the skins of Mrs. Gray's waterbuck to the king. Their village is Chet-Gwok.

8. Kwa Nyikang, was founded by Nyikang, a servant of king Nyikang. They help to build the house of Nyikang. Their village is Fakang (the village of Kang). — Diff.: it was founded by Olam, a servant of Nyikang. Olam was captured by Nyikang in the river, and brought out. Nyikang settled him in the country. Olam is said to have been a man of tremendous appetite.

9. Ñwɔn, was founded by a hippo-hunter named *Ñwɔn*. He was found near Doleib Hill by king Abudok. The name *Ñwɔn* means to walk in a stealthy manner. They help to build the house of Abudok. Their village is Twara.

10. Kwa Ret (or *rĭt*, i. e. king), was founded by Nyikang. They all go to the crowning of a king. Their village is Fĭlo.

11. Kwa Tuki, was founded by a person that Nyikang discovered by the river. They taught the Shilluks to build the tuki (hearth-stones). It is made of three small pillars of mud built in a triangular shape. On the tuki the cooking vessel is placed. Before the Shilluks were taught to build the tuki, they used to dig a little hole in the ground for the fire. The Kwa Tuki help to care for the cattle of Nyikang. They live at Didigo.

12. Kwa Chwal, was founded by Chwal, who was found in the Shilluk country by Nyikang. They live in *Fogɛ* Nyikang, and help to build the house of Nyikang. — Diff.: Chwal was found on his way here.

13. Kwa Jaŋ Nyikang; he had a Dinka wife, her people founded this division. They live at Ojodo, and help to build the house of Dak. — Diff.: it was founded by a Dinka, who was the son of Gok, and came of his own free will.

14. Kwa Tuga, was founded by Tuga, a foreigner. They say he was an Arab. Nyikang married Tuga's sister, and her brother followed her.

15. Kwa Kĭlo, was founded by *Okĭlo*, a servant of Nyikang. He taught the

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Shilluks how to prepare the mud for the tuki. They live at *Fọpẹ* Nyikang, and help to build the house of Nyikang at *Fọpẹ* Nyikang. — Diff.: Okelo was a Nuba, whose sister was married by Nyikang. Vide *11*.

16. Kwa Ogūti, was founded by *Gūti*, a servant of Nyikang. He came into this country. They live at Twara and tear down the old houses of Nyikang.

17. Kwa Dāk, was founded by Dak, a servant of Nyikang. They cut the first dura stalks for the house of Nyikang; they live at Owichi. — Diff.: Dak was the son of Nyikang; they build the house of Abudok.

18. Kwa Oshọllọ, was founded by Oshollo, a servant of Odak. They build the houses of Odak, and live at Malakal. — Diff.: Oshollo was the son of Dak; they build the house of Oshollo, and also the king's house.

19. Kwa Ńebḭ̄ḍḭ̀, was founded by Nyikang's blacksmith (*bḭ̄ḍḭ̀*). He furnishes the name for skilled workmen. They live at Nyelwak, and help to build the house of Nyikang at *Fọpẹ* Nyikang. Each year they give the king dried hippo meat.

20. Kwa Gūga, was founded by a man who once sat near Nyikang like a buzzard watching for meat. They live at Nyelwal and help to build the house of Nyikang.

21. Kwa Obḭ̄gḭ̀, was founded by Obogo, a servant of Nyikang that had come with him. When they arrived at the Nile, the current was blocked up with sudd, so that they could not find a crossing. Then Obogo told Nyikang to kill him. He was consequently thrust with a spear. When his blood touched the sudd, it parted, and a clear passage was furnished for Nyikang and his party. Obogo's self-sacrifice took place "at the end of the earth." They live in *Fọpẹ* Nyikang, and help to build the house of Nyikang. Vide 51.

22. Kwa Ogḭ̄kḭ̀, was founded by Ogek, a servant of Nyikang. They get their name from the fact that they were the herders of the sacred cow that Nyikang got from the river. They are found at Wau.

23. Kwa Ńemwal ("the crawlers"), used to be a part of No. 10, but Nyikang became angry with them and said they could no longer belong to the Kwa Ret. They help to build the house of Nyikang and furnish hippo meat to the king. — Diff.: it was founded by Uwal, who was a member of No. 17. The division was effected peaceably, because the Kwa Dok had become too large for convenience. They help to build the house of Chal. Their residence is at Tonga.

24. Kwa Okḭ̄l, was founded by people that Nyikang found in the Shilluk country. They first dug in the ground. They help in building the house of Nyikang. When a king is crowned, the chief of this division gives one of his daughters to the king. — Remark. This division seems to be the same as Hofmeyer's

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Kwa Okal, of whom he says, "They have come from the Bahr Ghasal; their ancestor was a relative of Nyikang. But a crime which they committed became the cause of their clan being decimated. They became common Shilluks, and as a punishment for their crime they had to pay a girl to the king. This tribute is repeated at each new election. The girl is called nya *Kwer*" (i. e. girl of the authorities, girl of taxes). Vide also *15*.

25. Kwa Lǭbǫ, or Oshū, was founded by Oshu, the son of Lobo, a servant of Abudok, who was found in the Shilluk country. They help to build the house of Abudok, their residence is in Owichi. — Diff. it was founded by Okola, the husband of Lobo; they were the parents of Oshu; servants of Nyikang.

26. Kwa Būńa (Būńǫ?), was founded by foreigners who have come in. To become a member in good standing it was necessary for the member of each family to give a daughter to the king. The ancestors of the division were strangers who married Shilluk women and took up residence in the Shilluk country. They are found at Nyigir.

27. Kwa Orōrǫ; are the same as 23 (?) Are found at Yonj.

28. Kwa Ḍǫkǫt, was founded by *Ḍǫkǫt*, a servant of Dak; they were found in the Sobat region by Nyikang. According to some they are the descendants of Dokot. They build the house of Dak. Their residence is at Gur.

29. Kwa Ńimǫńǫ, was founded by *Ńimǫńǫ*, who was found here by Nyikang, who married his daughter. They live in Gur.

30. Kwa Owen, was founded by a man who tried to deceive Nyikang. The name Owen means deceiver. They are servants of Nyikang, and help in building his house. Nyikang brought them from a distance; they live in *Foge* Nyikang.

31. Kwa Orǧǫ, was founded by *Orǧǫ*, whom Nyikang found in the Shilluk country. They help to build the houses of Nyikang and Dak. Their residence is in Nigu and Wubo.

32. Kwa Wūń, was founded by a man who tried to hide all the fish of a certain kind *(eshura)* from Nyikang. When Nyikang asked for them, he said there were none; but his treachery was found out. If any of this division eat of this kind of fish, he will die. They are found at Tonga and furnish fish and other water animals to the king. They also help in building the house of Nyikang.

33. Kwa Ńishine, was founded by a man that Nyikang found near Tonga. They live at Tonga, and help to build the house of Nyikang.

34. Kwa Nai, was founded by Nai, a servant of Dak. They help to build the house of Dak that used to be on the mission ground at Doleib Hill. They are found at Obai and Abijop.

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35. Kwa Dwai, was founded by Dwai, a servant of Dak. They help to build the house of Dak and are found at *Foŋe* Nyikang. — Diff.: Dwai was a servant of Nyikang. He was a Nuba, who came into the country and was taken by Nyikang.

[This last remark is probably right, as the Nubians are generally addressed: Nya Dwai.]

36. Kwa Agǭdǫ, was founded by *Agǭdǫ,* a servant of Nyikang. He was a foreigner that Nyikang found here. They live in Obuwa, and help to build the house of Nyikang. — Diff.: they build the house of Oshollo in Ditong.

37. Kwa Ńiḍeaṅ, was founded by a Dinka who came into the Shilluk country. They live at Obai, and build the house of Dak.

38. Kwa Ńikǭgǫ, was founded by *Ńikǭgǫ,* a servant of Nyikang. Nyikang found him in this country. They build the house of Nyikang; their residence is at Didigo.

39. Kwa Duṅ, was founded by *Aduṅ,* a Dinka, who was a servant of Abudok. They are found at Owichi. — Diff.: he was a servant of Nyikang.

40. Kwa Okwai, was founded by Okwai, an ancient fisherman found in this country by Nyikang. They live at Adodo and build the house of Nyikang. — Diff.: he was a Dinka, and was found by Duwat.

41. Kwa Jalǫ, was founded by Jalo, a servant of Odak. They live at Aditdeang, and build the house of Odak. — Diff.: he was a son of Duwat.

42. Kwa Ogwat, was founded by Ogwat, a servant of Odak. They build the house of Odak. Tonga is their home.

43. Kwa Omal, was founded by Omal, a servant of Odak. They build the house of Odak; their residence is at Malakal. — Diff.: They are the same as No. 2, and should not be counted as a separate division.[1]

44. Kwa Waṅ, was founded by *Waṅ,* who crowned Nyikang. Wang was found in the Shilluk country. They live at Okun and Dur; they have a part in the crowning of the king.

45. Kwa Okǭṅǫ was founded by *Okǭṅǫ,* a servant of Nyikang, who was found in the country by the latter. They live at Kakugo, and help to build the house of Nyikang. — Diff.: They build the house of Dak.

46. Kwa Dwǫt, was founded by Duwat, a servant of Dak. They are the chief of the servants of Dak; they live at Filo.

47. Kwa Kū, was founded by Oku, a servant of Nyikang. Nyikang found him on the bank of the river in the Shilluk country. They build the house of Nyikang. Their home is Arumbwut.

48. Kwa Yǭdǫ, was fonded by *Oyǭdǫ,* a servant of Nyikang, found in the Shilluk country. They help to build the house of Nyikang. Their home is in

[1] They may, however, be a subdivision of 2, as Omal means "descendant of Mal."

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Fọṇe Nyikang. — Diff: Nyikang brought Oyodo from a distance.

49. Kwa Okḭ̄gi, was founded by *Okḭ̄gọ*, a servant of Nyikang. He was brought from the Nuba country. They help to build the house of Nyikang. Their residence is at Detwuk. — Diff.: he was found in the Shilluk country.

50. Kwa Mūi, was founded by *Omūi*, a Nuer servant of Nyikang. They live at Adit-deang.

51. Kwa Obḭ̄n, was founded by *Obḭ̄n*, a servant of Nyikang. He was found in the Shilluk country. He ate the meat cleaned off the skin of Nyikang's cattle. They live at Nyelwal. — Diff.: Obon was brought here by Nyikang.

52. Kwa Chwai ("soup"),[1] was founded by Chwai, a servant of Nyikang, who was found here. Their functions are the same as the preceding, except that when an ox of Nyikang is killed, they get the soup. They live at Nyelwal.

53. Kwa Rīṅọ ("meat"), was founded by *Rīṅo*, a servant of Nyikang, who was found in the Shilluk country. At the killing of an ox of Nyikang they get the meat.

54. Kwa Fyẹn ("skin"), was founded by *Ofyẹn*, a servant of Nyikang found in the Shilluk country. They get the skin of Nyikang's cattle. They live at Nyelwal.

55. Kwa Wich ("head"), was founded by *Owich*, a servant of Nyikang found in the Liri-country (Kordofan). They get the head of Nyikang's cattle. Their home is at Nyelwal. — Diff.: *Wich* was a Dinka.

56. Kwa Shḭ̄n, ("intestines"), was founded by *Shḭ̄n*, a servant of Nyikang. They get the intestines of Nyikang's cattle; live at Nyelwal.

57. Kwa Ńilẹṅọ, was founded by *Olẹṅ*, a Nuer servant of Nyikang. They help to build the house of Nyikang. Their residence is Tonga.

58. Kwa Nyiḍọk, was founded by *Oḍọk*, a servant of Dak. They help in building the house of Nyikang. Their home is Dur and Obai.

59. Kwa Ayādọ, was founded by *Ayādọ*, a servant of Dak. They make a preparation of bean leaves and give it to the king, who puts it on his body. They are found at Dur. — Diff.: he was a servant of Nyikang, they help to build the house of Nyikang at Malakal.

60. Kwa Anūt, was founded by *Anūt*, a servant of Nyikang found in the Shilluk country. They taught the Shilluks to make fire by friction. At the crowning of the king they make fire. They are found at Fotou.

61. Kwa Nyerịt, are descendants of Nyikang. They are the royal class. The king is chosen from among them. Their village is Yoyin. Vide *10*.

62. Kwa Ḍọi, was founded by *Oḍọi*, a Nuba, who came into the country. He was a servant of Nyikang. They help to build the house of Nyikang. Their village is near Tonga.

[1] These and some of the following as well as of the preceding names are apparently not really names of ancestors.

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63. Kwa Odẹ̀ọ̀, was founded by *Odẹ̀i*, a servant of Abudok. They help to build the house of Abudok. Their village is Twara. He came into the country.

64. Kwa Wūbọ̀, was founded by *Wūbọ̀*, a servant of Nyikang. He was a brave man, who was never afraid. When the cows of Nyikang got into his dura, he watched them, and killed one cow. Nyikang told him that something bad would happen to him. As a result his village was attacked by the Nuers, and a large part of his descendants were killed; so it is a small division now. Wubo was very skilful in the use of weapons. — They do not rub ashes on their faces and bodies. They help to build the house of Nyikang. They live at Ajwogo.

65. Kwa Ńikāi, was founded by Kir, a servant of Nyikang. He was found at a distance. At the death of the king they beat the drum. They live in Gur. — Diff. he was found in the river by Nyikang.

66. Kwa Yọ̄, was founded by *Yọ̄*, a servant of Odak. They help to build the house of Odak. Their village is Obwo. — Diff.: he was a servant of Nyikang; they help to build the house of Oshollo.

67. Kwa Gau, was founded by *Ogau*, a servant of Odak. He was from the Anywak country. They help to build the house of Odak. Their residence is at Tonga.

68. Kwa Mwal, was founded by Mwal, a servant of Nyikang. He crawled away from battle. They do not eat of the flesh on the knee-joint. They help to build the house of Nyikang. Their home is at Ogot. Vide *23*.

69. Kwa Kam, was founded by Kam, a servant of Nyikang. He was a fish which Nyikang caught and changed into a man. They are found in *Fọ̀ọ̀* Dwai. — Diff.: he was brought in by Dak, and was his servant.

70. Kwa Okaṭi, was founded by *Okaṭi*, a son of Dokot. They help to build the house of Dak. Their home is at *Fọ̀ọ̀* Dwai. — Diff.: he was of Arabic descent. When a king is crowned, and the king starts to Tonga, they sweep the beginning of the road with a hen.

71. Kwa Bẹl, was founded by Bel, a servant of Nyikang. He was an Anywak. They are at Mainam. They help to build the house of Nyikang. — Bel once fought against Mui.

72. Kwa Ńiyọ̄k, was founded by *Oyọ̄k*, a servant of Nyikang. At the crowning they ring the bells.

73. Kwa Ńeyọ̄k, was founded by *Oyọ̄k*, a servant of Nyikang. At the crowning they ring the bells. They live at Fashoda.

74. Kwa Ńetyọ̀, was founded by *Otyọ̀*, a servant of Nyikang. He was sent on an errand by Nyikang and forgot; thus he got his name. They are found in *Fakai*; they help to build the house of Nyikang in *Fakai*.

VII. TRADITIONS ON ŃIKĀŃO.

50. Nyikang's Parents.

Oshyāñi ye Okwa, ye ŋ̄ma nam ki mayi Ńikañ, Ńakae, ña Ke. Ka jē ńi kŋa nam. Omya Ńakae fana ñañ, bŋdo ki ɖāp. Ka jē ńi tugo kwomg, kine: wāńó yau! A kŋ Dāk, a kwañ ña ñañ, a nŋ̄gé gòn, a búlí, a yábí, a kōbi Dāk kine: á bùlà yàn! Kine: è tìch yí edi? Kine: a châmá! Kine: Ńakayo, kwárá a châm yi kwāri! Kine: a châmè ŋgn? Kine: yu kŋla kŋi? Kine: ú námò! Kine: ê! yí lòni yi ŋgn kí chàmò, sha jē lwókà nam. Ka ɖāp mákè yì ñàñ. A kōbi ñañ kine: nam ba kélí yiñ kŋtí! Dè fa mādo fi! Kine: dí dérè! u ywódá yín, yí búdà wòk yí kŋlà kèlò. Yi fa ńi nènà wòk yi ńi nwola wòk. A ɖāt lenó, a ńi bŋn ñañ wok, chg ɖoke kwâñò. Ka gg mákè ñàñ. Ka chak mūnò yi ɖāpò kí ñáñ.

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In ancient times Okwa (the father of Nyikang) married the (woman of the river, the mother of Nyikang, Nyakae, the daughter of Ke. And the people used to go to the river. The brother of Nyakae was the crocodile, it lived with the men; and the people used to play on its back saying, "Our grandmother, eh!" One day Dak went, he took the children of the crocodile, he killed and roasted them. When the children were searched for, Dak said, "I have roasted them." Nyikayo (the brother of Nyakae) said, "How is that?" He replied, "I have eaten them." Then the mother of the crocodile said, "Nyakayo, my grandchildren have been eaten by your grandchildren." He replied, "Have they really been eaten by them?" He asked, "Where will you go now?" The woman replied, "I will remain in the river." Nyakayo said, "No, because you (and your children) will in your turn also be eaten by it (the crocodile), when the people (your children) come to wash." So the men now are caught by the crocodile. The crocodile said, "You (men) can never pass a river again, and you never will drink water from the river." Then Nyakayo (the man) said, "All right, if ever I find you (crocodile) lying outside the river, I shall surely stab you. You shall never sleep outside the river, you (shall only have sufficient time to) lay your eggs on the river bank." And a harpoon was made. During the time when the crocodile comes out of the river, the cows swim across the river; but (often) they are seized by the crocodile. This is the beginning of the enmity between man und the crocodile.

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[Another Report on the Descent of Nyikang and on the origin of the Shilluk people, given in A. E. S. page 197:

In the beginning was Jo-uk (*jwgk*), the Great Creator, and he created

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a great white cow, who came up out of the Nile and was called Deung Adok *(ḍeaṅ aduk)*. The white cow gave birth to a man-child whom she nursed and named Kola *(Kǫlǫ)*; Kola begat Umak Ra or Omaro *(Omarǫ)*, who begat Makwa or Wad Maul *(wat mōl)*, who begat Ukwa (Okwa). These people lived in a far-off country, nobody knows where.

Ukwa was one day sitting near the river when he saw two lovely maidens with long hair rise out of the river and play about in the shallows. He saw them many times after that, but they would have nothing to do with him and merely laughed at him. It should be mentioned that their lower extremities were like those of a crocodile.

One day Ukwa found them sitting on the banks, so he came up behind and seized them. Their screams brought their father, Ud Diljil, out of the river, to see what was the matter. Ud Diljil, whose right side was green in colour and in form like a crocodile, whilst his left side was that of a man, protested mildly, but allowed Ukwa to take away his daughters and wed them, merely giving vent to a series of incorrect prophecies regarding them.

Nik-Kieya *(Nyakae)*, the elder sister, gave birth to two sons and three daughters, and Ung-wad, the younger, to one son only, named Ju, or Bworo. The eldest son of Nik-Kieya, was called Nyakang (Nik-kang or Nyakam, = *Ńiḳāṅ*) and inherited the pleasing crocodilian attributes of his mother and grandfather. Meanwhile Ukwa married a third wife, whose eldest child, a son, was named Duwat.

On Ukwa's death there was a furious quarrel between Nyakang and Duwat as to who should succeed Ukwa. It ended by Nyakang, with his sisters Ad Dui, Ari Umker, and Bun Yung, his brother Umoi and his half-brother Ju, acquiring wings and flying away to the south of the Sobat. Here they found the Shilluk country inhabited by wicked Arabs, so they drove them out and founded a most successful Kingdom. According to their genealogy this would have been about 1200 A. D., or later.

Nyakang had a creative power which he used greatly to the advantage of the Kingdom. In order to people the vast territory more quickly, he proceeded to create a people from the animal life he found in the forests and rivers. From crocodiles, hippopotami, and from wild beasts and cattle, he created men and women. When these had brought forth many children, the parent stock was removed by death, so that the children might not know of their origin.

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The new creation and their offspring form the Shulla race or common people, in distinction from the direct descendants of Nyakang's family.

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The latter continue to bear authority and fill the priestly function to this day. All outside the royal and priestly line are accounted Shullas.
Nik-Kieya still exists. She never died and never will. The western part of the Sobat and part of the White Nile is her favourite abode. She often appears, usually in the form of a crocodile, but at times in different forms and always in the river or on its banks. No sacrifices are ever offered to her. When she wishes, she takes what is required from among men and beasts; and when it is so, the people must not complain; indeed, it is an honour when Nik-Kieya is pleased to take her sacrifice of man or beast from a family.]

The Origin of the Shullas[1].

By Dr. T. Lambie, of Doleib Hill.

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Nyikang, Duwad, Ju, Okil, Otin, and Moi were the sons of Okwa. Okwa was the son of Omara from heaven. Nyikang's mother was Nyikaya, Okwa's other wife was Ungwet. Nyikang and Duwad were twins, they lived far away to the south. Okwa was lost and his village was deserted, so the people asked, "Whom shall we elect king?" Part of the people said, "We will elect Nyikang," others said, "We will elect Duwad," so it came to pass there was war and the people were divided. Nyikang came and turned aside to the country of the Dim, and there he married the mother of Dak, and Dak was born. Dak was wicked and killed some people of the Dim, and the Dim said, "Booh! all the people are being killed!" So they agreed to kill him, saying, we will kill Dak. Another man, called Obogi, kept silence there at the council when they spoke, and when the people asked him, "Did you not understand our talk?" he said, "Ah!" like a deaf and dumb person. And they struck him and said, "This fellow dit not hear." Then Obogi went to Nyikang and told him about the plot. Nyikang replied, "Ah! very well, we shall see." So the father came and brought a wooden figure and put it up. And his son Dak played on the tom (stringed instrument), and when he had finished playing, he took off his bracelet and put it on the image in his house, and the Dim people came to his house and speared the figure. And when they thought they had finished killing it, they said, "He is dead, good!" They went away, and all the people came and began to lament saying, "Dak is dead." They killed a dog, and when they had finished, Dak came, while the people were dancing his funeral dance. Dak came in and saw them. And Nyikang said, "We will separate from you, we go to look for corn." So they came and stopped here in the home of the Shullas.

[1] I. e. Shilluks.

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lōnį Dwoɔt kį jàgò. A rámį, a lónį Bwɔ́ch kį jàgò; a lōnį Dúkùt kį jāgǫ; a lōnį Tugǫ kį jāgǫ; a lōnį Okwɔn kį jāgǫ, a lōnį Kúdù kį jāgǫ; a lōnį Ñakwachǫ kį jāgǫ.

In ancient times the people came to the country Kerau, this is the country into which Nyikang came. Here they separated, he and (his brother) Duwat, Duwat said, "Nyikang, where are you going?" He replied, "I am going to that place there." Again he said, "Nyikang, look behind!" And Nyikang turned round, and looked back, and he saw a stick for planting dura, which Duwat had thrown to him. When Nyikang came back to take it, he asked, "What is that?" Duwat replied, „Go, that is a thing with which to dig the ground of your village!" And Nyikang came, and sat down in the country of Turo. This is the country of his son Dak.

And Dak used to sit on the ashes of the village and to play the tom (a stringed instrument). But his uncles (the brothers of Nyikang) said, "The country is to be ruled by Dak alone? (being jealous of him). His uncles went to sharpen their spears. But it was told to Dak, "You are going to be killed by your uncles!" Then Nyikang went to fetch an ambach, he hewed it, and made for it hands (so that it looked like the statue of a man). Dak went and sat down in the same place again, and began playing his instrument. His uncles came and stabbed him — that is, the ambach statue; Dak went into his enclosure (unhurt). Nyikang came and said, "My son has been killed by his uncles." His uncles were afraid saying, "Let every man stay at home four days. When four days have passed, we may mourn him." The morning after four days were gone, all the people came (to mourn), there were a great many. Suddenly Dak came out from his enclosure and went to dance the mado dance. When his uncles saw this, they ran away, and the mourning was finished.

Nyikang said, "I will go!" And he came and went along a river, a certain river called Faloko. And the people settled on this river. Here the cow ran away, the cow of Nyikang, because of her calves, her calves used to be speared by Nyikang.[1] She went and came to the country of the sun. And Ojul ("the grey hawk") ~~went to search for her; he~~ found the cow among the cows of the sun. He said, "I am searching for a cow." Garo, the son of the sun, said, "Man, what do you search for?" He replied, "I search for a cow!" He asked, "What cow?" Ojul said, "The cow of Nyikang." Garo asked, "Where has it come from?" He answered, "From the country of Nyikang." Garo replied, "No, never! Here is no cow of Nyikang." He, Ojul, turned back and told Nyikang, "Nyikang, we have found the cow! among the cows of a certain man, he is awfully tall, just like Dak; on his hands he has silver bracelets." Nyikang said, "Raise an army, and find the cow!" Dak went and attacked Garo, he threw

[1] Whenever Nyikang came to a new place, he killed a calf.

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*539 ●773 him on the ground. He cut off his hands, pulled the bracelets off them, and chased the enemy's army; he came to the sun. But there the army of Nyikang was chased, and it was utterly destroyed. Then Nyikang himself came, he took an adze and aimed it towards the sun. He hit the sun, and it returned to the sky. Nyikang went and took the bracelet, with it he touched the dead of his army, and they returned to life.

The people came, they came to the head (source) of a river, there they arose and approached the junction of the river (in boats). They found the river full of sudd. Nyikang said, "Where does this come from? what shall we do?" Their way was barred. Then Obogo[1] arose saying, "Nyikang, I have finished eating. Spear me under the sudd!" He said again, "Nyikang, thus I shall part asunder the sudd, and if you come to any place where the sudd is, you just follow after it." So Obogo was stabbed under the sudd, and the sudd broke asunder, so they came to their place together with the sudd.

He settled (with his people) in Achyete-guok, but he found the country occupied by the white people, therefore the people returned to this side of the river. They settled at the head of the Pijo (i. e. *Sobat*), Dak passed on to Wij-Palo. The army went home (it scattered because the war was finished).

He, Nyikang, built the following villages: Nyelwal, Pepwojo, Adwelo, Tedigo, Palo. The people went on and built Wau, Oshoro, Penyikang Otego, Akuruwar, Moro, Oryang, these are the villages of Nyikang. Nyikang went saying, "Ah, there are still Shilluks left!"

Then Dak ruled, he went away;[2] (after him his son) Odak ruled, he went away[2] while hunting game. The people were perplexed, and they said, "What is that?" Nyikang returned saying, "Bring a cow, that we may make a bier." When that was finished, Duwat ruled after him; when he had finished, Bwoch ruled after him, after him Dokot ruled, then Tugo, then Okwon; then Kudit, then Nyakwacho. (For the complete list see page 135).

[A somewhat different report of this warfare is given by P. W. Hofmeyer in "Anthropos", 1910, V, page 332; it runs thus:

Nyikang heard of a country in which all ornaments and even the tools were made of silver. He made up his mind to go into this country with his sons and numerous armed people. The name of this country was wang garo i. e. the country where the sun sets and sleeps, and where the sun is so near that it may be seized with the fingers.

Nyikang arrived in the miraculous country; in truth, numerous cattle-herds were grazing here, and the young people were richly adorned with silver rings and silver sticks. Nyikang and Dag entered a hut, where a young woman was working. She was exceedingly beautiful; the Shilluk

[1] Obogo means "albino"; vide also page 157.
[2] i. e. he died.

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heroes had never seen her equal. Dag asked the woman, whether she would like to marry him and go with him into his country. The woman was frightened, she sprang up, cursing the black fellows. But Dag replied, "Though we are black, and without silver ornaments, we shall show you that our arms are stronger than those of your men and that we may well venture to ask you for marriage." Thereupon the woman showed them the direction where her husband with his servants herded the cattle. Nyikang and Dag turned thither. 539* 773

It was just growing dark and the herds were coming from the bush, the men with their costly silver ornaments following. Dag at once rose, went to meet them, and soon a great fighting was going on. The man who wore the heavy silver rings was defeated, and Dag stripped the ornaments off him.

In the heat of the fight and on account of the scorching sun all the Shilluks fell down. Nyikang ordered water to be brought, with which he sprinkled his fallen warriors, and they all came to life again. Even the sun he sprinkled that it might not burn so hot, and presently it ceased burning. Finally the Shilluks were victorious and drove away the cattle and men of the enemies. These people are the Quadshal (Kwa Jal).

When they had arrived in the Shilluk country, Dag once more proposed to the woman to marry her; but he was again rejected.

Nyikang offered the prisoners in his country cattle, but they declined. He offered them Shilluk women, but again they declined. So he gave them the privilege to seize and keep a number of Shilluk girls and to collect spears, sheep, and fat in the whole Shilluk country, as often as a new king would be elected. As this was a lasting privilege, they consented to accept it.]

52. Different Doings and Adventures of Nyikang.

Ńŭthiŋ nį́ kə́ (kŋ̀ŋ̀) ţàn gat. Ka jē mə̄kŋ nį bŋ̀nŋ, gŋ́ màyŋ̀ ki yei. Ka yei nį́ ŋ́ńa fen. Ka nį lŋ̀gį Ńikań, ka Ńikań ɖálŋ́, ka e bŋ̀nŋ, ka e ko kine: Dāk, ya ɖálį yi jē mə̄kŋ. Ka Dāk e kŋ̀gŋ̀, ka Dāk ɖálŋ́, ka Dāk e bŋ̀nŋ, ka e ko: yá ɖál yi jṵ̀k ŋ́ní. Ka Ńikań ko: ŋ́, nàrá! gŋ di (ri) jē a nį́ wèi gén? Kine: ŋ́, yei nį wańa fen! A dŋ̀gį Dāk, a bŋ̀n yi jṵ̀k ŋ́ni, gŋ́ màyŋ̀ ki yŋ́l. A lọ̀k Dāk e ólŋ̀k, ka pŋ̄ka yey nam. Ka jṵ̀k ŋ́ni e bŋ̀nŋ, ka gŋ kŋ̀la bāte Dāk; ka gŋ mák, ka gŋ kiţi fack. 539*

Ka jṵ̀k ŋ́ni e lŋ̀dŋ ki fack. Ká wọ̀t gŋ̄r yi Ńikań, ka gŋ kōbŋ kine: Ńikań, bŋ̀ŋ́ wọ̀ti agak? Kine: wọ̀te wa fa nį́ bŋ̀dŋ̀ nàu. A kōbį Ńikań kine: ŋ́, de wọ̀t nį́ gŋ̄r edi? Kine: wọ̀te wa nį́ gŋ̄r kį́ ɖāŋ! A kygdį Ńikań kine: ɖāŋ bogŋn. Kine: ŋ́, ɖāŋ á gŋ̄r kį́ yí bŋ̀nè! A kōbį Ńikań kine: ŋ́, bogŋn. A kŋ̀gŋ̀, chwọla Ólóálŋ̀. A kōbį kine: kŋ̀l ɖāŋ! Ka Ńikań é bànŋ̀. A kŋ̀ jal ŋ́ni, a kŋ̀li nārŋ, a chṵ̀bį lŋ̀bŋ̀, a kygri

**539* *wọt, a chygk lạbọ, ka tygle wọt tạ́gé. A kōbọ kine: chuñun! A māgi ñārg, a gẹchí gòn kí àtáì, a ṭọwẹ. A kōbi Ńikañ kine: búh! Kine: ẹ́, Oloalọ, kwọfi rach! grẹ ḍāp a nạ́gí? Kine: yẹ́dẹ́? Kine: ẹ́, y chộk á gì fárẹ ànẹn: ka ńi kygre wọt Ńikañ, ḍāp e ńi ṭẹ̀ kifa Ólóálẹ̀. A bẹt tẹrọ, a kōbi Ńikañ kine: ẹ́! Oloalọ jēi y chẹ̀gẹ́ ṭẹ̀ yi wọn eni. Ka Oloalọ kine: dệdẹ́ (dẹ grẹ), y ńyêń, ba ṭumi.*

A wékè jame kwẹr yi Ńikañ, a ńi kygre wọt. Ka e ko kine: wọt ńi kyel ki aɣūjọ ńitṭṇọ, ńi châm a wûr, ńi laña war, ẹ́ chàmò. Ka gōl ákyèlò gẹ kẹle bāne Ńikañ, ńi chama chwai; ka gōl akyẹlọ chaña riṅọ, gōl akyel chama bāne. A rûmi, mọk àn a ṭum.

Ka Ńikañ ńi ka wi kyer, ka jẽ mọ̄kọ ńi yôt gẹ tẹ̀dò, jal gni ki ńemẹn. Ka Ńikañ bẹ̄nọ, ka gẹ ńi rẹña nam. Ka Ńikañ ńi ḍálẹ́, ka Dāk dwai, ká é bàńò; ka kwách. Ka Ńikañ e kẹdọ, ka ńārẹ wēki Dāk, chôl kẹy maye Dāk. A yei Dāk, a kẹdọ, ka jọk gni yôdẹ́. Ka gẹ rẹña nam, ka Dāk kẹla nam ki yẹi; ka gẹ gẹ̄nọ wọk, ka gẹ riña nam, ka ńān gni mágẹ́, ka gọ kiti yi yẹi. Ka e bẹ̄nọ, ka ómẹn lúgá bāńẹ̀. Ka gẹ bẹ̄dọ ki pach. E ńwọlẹ́ ki wộ̂dẹ́. A kwali réi gén, gẹ ki ńemén. A dọń wọ̄dẹ.

A kẹt ḍọge nam. A kẹt Ńikañọ bẹ chẹ́k, ka jal mẹ̄kọ ńi chôti rẹn ki nam; ńiñg chwọla ga Ochwô. A kẹdọ, gna Ńikañ, a kóńẹ́ jọch, jọch Ochamdọr, a yigri gọn, a kiti Odọp, a kiti mọn ópún, kiti ḍọk odọp, a mágẹ́, a bẹna wọk, a ḍāp. A bẹn ńemẹn bāńg. A bẹda pach; a ńi chāmọ rẏ̀ch, rẏ̄che Ńikañ, a ńi chām mọn adật. A wēri Ńikañ, a kōbi Ńikañ kine: kyau kējọ wiy Tor, jôk kùn chāmé ki jẏ̀p. A ńi chāmi jẏ̀p. A kẹt ńemẹn, a kōbi: ṭōṭẹ yán ki riṅọ! Ka e wệrò ki ńemẹn, ka gẹ ńākọ. Ka gẹ nẹ̀lẹ́ nam, ka gẹ́lò, ka gọ mọ̄gẹ nam, ka gẹ kẹti nam.

Ka jọk mẹ̄kọ ńi kâ bẹ māi, gẹ bia ki Olam, ka Ńikañ ńi ḍálẹ́, ka Dāk e kẹdọ. Ka gẹ rọmọ ki gin; ka gẹ mágẹ́. Ńikañ ko: wēki yan, ka Dāk é bàńò, kine: báñá! Ka gẹ kẹli Dāk, ka gẹ kẹta fach, ka gẹ wēki ḍọk dẹ̄ńò; ka gẹ wēki tṓń alọ̄dó, gọ ńi gútè ḍeañ. Kậl ḍeañ ki Bachōdọ, gọ ńi lọgò mọ̄ gén.

Ka jọk mọ̄kọ lẹ̄da, ga kwar bwońọ, ka gẹ ńi kẹdọ, ka ńi ńa bañ; ka gẹ ńi wéki gyẹ̄nò, tygne a yôt pén, ka ńi kậl Ńikañ ki Akuruwar; gẹ ńi maki gyẹ̄nọ, gọ ńí gach ki fen kí yey ḍọk. Chōṭé, mọk gni á ṭùm.

Jọk mọ̄kọ ba yłt, gẹ ńi kẹti gẹ yi nam, yi nam Ábúḍọ̀k; gẹ ńi chami ńwọlẹ par. Nam gni chwọlá Ńèwẹ̀k. Ka Abuḍọk e bẹ̄nọ, ka e pẹchò kine: wúńẹ́ jẹ̀ kún? Kine: wọ́ bà yłt. Ka Abuḍọk kudọ. Ka gẹ chāmọ ki riṅọ; ka lwāńọ ńi pẹ̄ka wiy riṅọ, ka jọk gni e bańọ; e ṅọ̄ṅọ. A kōbi Abúḍọ̀k kine: wu rẹ a bâń wûn? Kine: wọ́ bẹ̀kò. Kine: yi ṅọ? Yi lwōāńọ. Kine: wí cháká ńwọ̀ńò! Kine: wọ fa ńí chàmò gin kwọmẹ da lwōāńọ. A kiti gẹn pach yi Abuḍọk. A kōbi Abuḍọk kine: wi chộk, wuna kwâre ńwọ̀ń! A bẹ̀dẹ́, gna bāń Abuḍọk, a wēki kàl.

**539* Nyikang used to go to the river-bank. And some people also used to come there, they were fishing in a boat, and suddenly the boat used to sink to the ●773 bottom. Nyikang saw it, but he did not know what to do (with these people),

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therefore he went home, and said (to his son), "Dak, there are certain people, I do not know what to do with them." Dak went, but he too could not manage them. So Dak came home saying, "I do not know what to do with these people." But Nyikang said, "My, why did you let the people go?" He answered, "Well, the boat went down to the bottom!" Dak returned and found the people again fishing in a boat. Dak turned himself into an egret and sat down in the middle of the river. The people came and were driven to the side of Dak; so he caught them and brought them into a (his) village (settled them).

These people now lived in a village. And Nyikang was building a house. They asked, "Nyikang, are these your houses? Our houses (the houses of our father) are not thus." Nyikang replied, "Eh, how then are (your) houses built?" They replied, "Our houses are built with human beings." But Nyikang protested, saying: "I have no human beings (for that purpose)!" They replied, "Why, you have a lot of people here with you everywhere!" But Nyikang said, "No, there are none!" The man (the chief of these water-people) went; — his name was Oloalo. — (But he came again) saying: "Bring a man!" But Nyikang refused. The man went and brought his own son; then he mixed mud, he marked the place where the house was to be built, he prepared the mud and dug out the foundations of the house. He said, "Bring mud!" And it was brought. He said, "Stop now!" He seized his son and struck him with a club, until he died. When Nyikang saw this, he said, "Ah, Oloalo, you are doing a wicked thing! how can you kill that man!?" Oloalo replied, "Why?" Nyikang said, "Well, it now will remain a custom of your village, always when a house of Nyikang will be built, a man will die because of Oloalo." The people remained there. Nyikang said, "Ah, Oloalo, your people will always die in building this house!" Oloalo replied, "Never mind, they are many, they will not be used up."

Nyikang gave him certain goods belonging to himself, with which to build the house (of Nyikang). And he said, "The house shall be built with a black heifer, which shall be eaten in the night; during the night it shall be eaten." One family — they are followers of Nyikang — eat the broth, and one family eat the meat, one family eat the meat on the skin. It is finished; this report is at an end.

Nyikang used to go to the river junction (of Sobat and White Nile), there he used to find some people who were cooking, a man with his sister. When Nyikang came near, they ran away into the river. Nyikang did not know what to do, and he called Dak. But Dak refused. He begged him. Then Nyikang went, and gave his daughter to Dak, as an indemnity for the mother of Dak. Now Dak consented, he went and found the people. They ran into the river, but Dak also drove a boat into the river and he drove them out onto the bank. They attempted to escape into the river again, but he seized the girl; he put

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her into his boat and came home. But her brother followed her, and they both remained in the village. (Dak married the girl), and she bore a son. After some time they stole away, the man and his sister. Her son was left in the village.

One day Nyikang went to fish with a hook. And a man (below the water) always used to break the fish-hook in the river, the name of this man was Oahwa. He, that is, Nyikang, now went to dig out the joch-plant, the joch of Ochamdor, he twisted it into a rope and tied the fish-hook to it, he fastened a piece of bread to the point of the hook, and so he caught the man in the river, he came out — it was a man! His sister came after him. They remained in the village, they used to eat calves, the calves of Nyikang, and they used to eat the corn which was cooked for making beer. At last Nyikang became angry, and said, "Row this man to the place of Witor, a place where he may eat buffaloes." (He was rowed thither, and) ate buffaloes. His sister also went there and she used to say, "Give me some meat!" He became angry with his sister, and they fought. And (while fighting) they rolled into the river, they tumbled down a steep slope, and so went into the river again.

Some people used to go fishing, to a place called Olam. Nyikang got into difficulties with them, and Dak went. He met them, and they were caught by him. Nyikang said, "Give them to me!" But Dak refused, saying, "They are my slaves." Dak took them along with him and brought them into his village. He gave them big cattle, and the spear Alodo with which to kill the cows. — When people bring cattle to Fashoda it is their (these people's) property.

There were some people, descendants of the white men; they became slaves. They used to give fowls. They were people found in the country before Nyikang was brought from Akuruwar. They used to catch hens, and to offer them to Nyikang as a tax, in the middle of Dok. — That is all, this report is finished.

Some people were fishermen, they used to go to the river, to the river of Abudok, they used to eat the calves of hippos. The name of this river was Nyewek. When Abudok came, he asked them, "From which place are you people?" They replied, "We are fishermen." Abudok was silent. And while they were eating meat, flies settled on the meat; but these people would not suffer it, they were proud. Abudok said, "Why do you refuse that meat?" They replied, "We are afraid." He asked, "Of what?" They answered, "Of the flies." He said, "You are proud, are you not?" They replied, "We do not eat anything on whose back there are flies." These people were taken home by Abudok. And Abudok said, "Ah, you will continue thus! You are the descendants of pride." They stayed there, they became adherents of Abudok, he gave them a settlement.

53. The Man who sacrificed Himself.

Kgá a lgn Ńikāń, a kgtį Atulfi kį wgte bāńg, a yweda nam ʒ rígò yi tįk. Ka Ńikāń e jādǫ yǒ. Ka jal ma óbǭgò e fʒchǫ kine: Ńikāń, yí rè chúń? Yí jatį kį yǒ? Ye ko: àwó, yá jdtį yǫ. Ka e ko: kgi ya rūmį kį cham, yá y bí, ka ya chwǭp kí tʃń, ka rémá mǫ́ld nám, tįk y chǭt. Ka Ńikań chwǭbį jal gni, ka rgmg mgla nam, ka tįk e chǭdǫ. Ka Ńikań yitį kį yg.[1]

When Nyikang came, he went to the Khor Atulfi with his followers; he found the river was shut up by the sudd, so that Nyikang did not find a passage. And a certain man who was an albino,[2] asked thus, "Nyikang, why do you stop? Is it because you do not find a passage?" He replied, "Yes, I do not see a way where to pass." The man said, "When I have finished eating, I shall come, I will be killed with a spear, my blood will flow into the river, and the sudd will break away." And Nyikang speared the man, his blood flowed into the river, and the sudd broke away. Thus Nyikang found a passage.

54. Nyikang and the River-people.

A kgla Ńikań wak, a mánį, a yōde yfi, riňa wǫk yi lygk, a kōbį kine: jǫk, wei kátá (kátá) yi ygi wun! jǫk gni ko: kipaiǫ? Kine yau. A kátá, che ygi ni tǭňa pań, ka gǫ ní dǭdí yi Ńikań. A lgn, a mágé gin, a kǭle gg pach, a lāme gin, a lǫgǫ bāńg, a wei gg tǫń, gǫ ni lām ggn. A lǫge tygi lām, a wei gg Ńibǭdǫ; ka ni bǭtį Ńikań. Chwǫl gá kwar Wań, kwāre ygi lygk.

Nyikang went into the bush capturing; he saw (at a distance on the river) a boat, he ran from the high grass to a place where the grass was burned, then he called, "People, let me get into your boat!" The people asked, "Why?" He replied, "Just let me go in." When he got into it, the boat went to the bottom (was about to sink, this being caused by the witchcraft of the people in the boat); but Nyikang pushed it up again; then he came and caught them. He brought them into a village; he taught them to pray; they became his slaves (his subjects); he gave them the spear and taught them to pray. So they became the people of prayer. He let them reside at Nyibodo; they keep the (religious) things belonging to Nyikang. They are called the descendants of Wang, the descendants of the boat of the grassless plain.

55. The Lost Cow.

Kwojył e kwayi ǵǫk, ǵǫk Ńikań, ka ǵoań akyęl e wbń, ka e kǫdǫ kal ǵǫ Dimǫ. Ka e lgng: ǵoań aggn? Kine: ǵoań ǭk! Ka Ńikań wēro, ka e ko: yap ǵoań! Ka

[1] Vide 51.

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*539 *é kɛ̀lǫ kun de chaŋ, ka ye kɛ̀lǫ, ka ye kɛ̀lǫ, ka máki wun; a kɛ̀lǫ, a wiţi fōţe Dimǫ. Ka ɖeaŋ ywodɛ ɛ wiţi fach, ka fţki ţá ryɛ̀k; a fyechɛ: yi kɛ̄la kun á? Kɛ̄le fōţe Ńikaŋ bɛ yafe ɖeaŋ. Ka ɖuki mǫl a kɛţi kale ɖǫk, ka ɖe Ńikaŋ, ka gǫ kɔ̀lè ɛ́n. Ka e bɛ̄n, waɲǫ fōţe Chǫl. Ka ɖeaŋ kɔ̀lɛ́ kal ɖǫk. Ka fyɛch Ńikaŋ kine: ɖeaŋ a kɔ̄lɔ̀ yín? Ka e ko: ɖeaŋ á waɲi fach. Chwǫl ɛna Kwajul, bāñe Ńikaŋ.*

*539 Kwajul herded cattle, the cattle of Nyikang; and one cow disappeared, she went into the cattle-yard of Dimo. When Kwajul came home, Nyikang asked, ●773 "Where is the cow?" He replied, "The cow is away." Nyikang became angry, he said, "Search for the cow!" So he went westwards ("to the place of the sun"), he walked and walked, till he had been on his way a year; he arrived in the country of Dimo. There he found the cow, she had gone into the village, and was lying within the yard. They asked him, "Where do you come from?" He replied, "I come from the country of Nyikang, to search for a cow." The next morning he went into the cattle yard, and drove the cow of Nyikang away. And he came and approached the Shilluk country. He drove the cow into the cattle pen. Nyikang asked, "Have you brought the cow?" He replied, "The cow is here in the village." Therefore he was called Kwajul, the servant of Nyikang.[1]

56. The Liar.

*539 *Ojulǫ bɛ̄da ga mɛ̄ţ, ka ńi wɛ̄la kɛn, ka ńi bɛ̄nɛ, ka ńi ţ̄ɔ̀dɔ̀; ka ńi wɛ̄la fōɲe, ka ńi bɛ̄n, ka ńi ţ̄ɔ̄dǫ. A kōbi Ńikaŋ, a fyechi kine: Ojulǫ, yi re chɔ̀k kifa ţ̄ɔ̄dǫ? Ko: á, mɛ̄ţ, tōdi ya! bɛnɛ́ gin ńi yɛ́nɛ́ yá. Ka Ńikaŋ e ńɛ̄ţǫ, e ko: jal, yi ɣ chɔ̀k, yina twot. A chōgi anan, a tiɔ̀t, a ŋeau tōdǫ ki jach; a wɔ̀ki gǫ ɛ́n.*

*539 Ojulo was a friend (of Nyikang). When he went somewhere and came back, 773 he used to tell all kinds of stories (lies) to Nyikang. Whenever he came to a country, he brought home a lot of stories. One day Nyikang asked, "Ojulo, why do you always lie so much?" Ojulo replied, "Ah, friend, let me lie! That is what makes me feel well." And Nyikang laughed, he said, "Man, you will always continue in this, you are a liar indeed!" And so he continued, he used to tell stories, he bought the story-telling with the shoulder of game, which he gave to Nyikang.[2]

57. Nyikang's Quarrel with Duwat.

*539 *Ńikāñ wèn Okwá, omgɛ Dɣwɛ̄t, fōţe Shɔ́lǫ fā Ţ̄urò, ygɛa kɛ́ch dkɣɛ̀l. Kā Ńiekāñ e wɛ̄rɛ̀ ki Dɣwɛ̄t, Ńiekaŋ wɛ̄dɛ Dāk, Dɣwɛ̄t wɛ̄dɛ Dimǫ. Ka Dāk e ŋāāɲǫ ki Dimǫ ki bɛ̀ŋ rɛ̄ch Ńiekāñ, chama bɣɛl, bɣɛl Dɣwɛ̄t; Dimǫ fwɔ̀t rɛ̄ch. Ńiekaŋe wɛ̀rɛ ki Dɣwɛ̄t. — Ńiekāñ e kɛ̀lǫ, e ko: Dɣwɛ̄t, dɛ̄ɲ! yā kɛ̀lɛ̀! Ka Ńiekāñ e kɛ̀lǫ,*

[1] Compare with this story No. 51.

[522] [2] By giving the shoulder of the game he had killed, he "bought" from Nyikang the privilege to tell lies. (This is meant as a joke).

é chŋ̀ŋ. Ka Dwɔ̀gt rŋ̀a lɔ̀ń Ńiekań kine: Ńiekań, shŋ̀ń! Ńiekań é bàń. Kine: 539*
lŋ̀t! Ńiekaŋ̀ lŋ̀i. Ka tákdɔ̀ lŋ̀ŋ̀ kine: Ńiekań, kwàń tákdɔ̀ lŋ̀ kwɔ́ń jɛ̀i! Bŋ̀n
Ńiekań fɔ̄ŋ̀e Shɔ́lɔ̀, fa (fach) Ńiekań kí wɖɛ́ Dāk kí Shal, wɔ̀te aryɔu. — Wa
(Wat) Ńiekań akyɛ̀l ɛ́ yigí ńan ní māi kí rech.

Nyikang, his father is Okwa, and his brother is Duwat. The country of the 539*
Shilluks was (at that time) Turo; there they lived in one place. And Nyikang 773
became angry with Duwat: Nyikang had a son whose name was Dāk, and the
son of Duwat was Dimo. And Dak quarrelled with Dimo behind (or: on account
of) the calves of Nyikang; they (the calves) ate the dura, the dura of Duwat,
and Dimo beat the calves. Therefore Nyikang became angry with Duwat.
Nyikang went away. He said, "Duwat, stay here! I go." And Nyikang went
away walking. Duwat ran after Nyikang, saying: "Nyikang, stop!" But Nyikang
refused. Again he called, "Look!" And Nyikang looked behind, and Duwat
threw a digging stick towards him, saying: "Take this stick to bury your people
with!"[1] Nyikang came into the Shilluk country, (and it became) the home of
Nyikang and his son Dak and Shal; he had (these) two sons. — One son of
Nyikang became a man who used to fish.

58. The Fish Ocholo.

Jal nɛ̄kŋ̀ ńíŋ̀ chwɔ̀la Ochɔ̀lɔ̀, bɛ̀da wat bɔ̀ń Ńikań. Kɛ́ń lwɔ̀ke Ńikań nam, ka 539*
ní lɛ́gí rɔ̄jɔ̀, ka ní dwaŋ̀ kine: bŋ̀h! Ka Ńikań ní ńâń, ka e bia pach, ka e ʃɔ̀dɛ̀
kí kāk, ka wíjɛ̀ kíti kí apɛ̀r, ka kɛ̀ta nam; ka e dwaŋ̀, kine: bŋ̀h, ka ní kɛ̀le Ńikań,
ka rɔ̄jɔ̀, ka gɛ̀ ní bājɛ̀. Jal e bɛ̀da jwɔ̀k. Ńí chíka dwaŋ̀, ka gɛ̀ ní bājɛ̀. Ka Ńikań
e ɲidɔ̀, ka bia pach, ka jal gni yōdí gɛ̀ bɛ̀n pach, dɛ̀ twārɔ̀ wéré ɖɔ̀k.

Dukí ka Ńikań dɛ̀gí gɛ̀t. Ka jal gni e lɛ̄gí lɛ̀tɛ̀, e chíka dwaŋ̀, kine: bŋ̀h! Ka
ní kɛ̀le yí Ńikań, ka bach, ka e gitɛ̀ bɛ̀rɛ̀, ka Ńikań bia pach. Ka Dāk chwɛ̄lɛ̀, ka
e ko: Dāgí, na ɖāɲ, da rɔ̄jɔ̀ maduŋ́ kí yey nam kā; ya ɖálī ɖàlì, ka ní kɛ̀lí gɛ̀,
ní ɖàlɔ̀. Dāk e ko: ɛ̀, a rech āŋ́ kí nam ʃɛ̄ɲ? Ko: è, y lɛ̄tɛ̀ yin yau! Rɔ̄jɔ̀ ma
chwaka duŋ́ chārɛ̀; ka ní kōle gɛ̀, ní bàjɔ̀ bājɔ́, dɛ̀ ya ɖalí ɲɛ̀, na ɖāɲ.

A kɛ̄ Dāk, ka gɛ̀ ka (kɛ̄) nam; ka e dwaŋ̀, kine: bŋ̀h! Ka e kɛ̀lī gɛ̀, ka e bājɛ̀;
ka e bia pach, ka e ko: ya ɖálī ɲɛ̀! Ka Ńikań ko: ɛ̀, dwɔ̀ɲ, yí nátí ɖālī gɛ̀! Ka
bɛ̀l kɛ̀k ɖɛ̀ɖɛ̀, ka e kɛ̀ɲɔ̀, ka e dwaŋ̀ kine: bŋ̀h! Ka e kɛ̀le (o kɛ̀le) wíte pí ɣòn, ka
kɛ̀k pɛ̀te rɛ̀. Ka jal gni ɖwɔ̀ta mal, ka e ko: kɛ̀, Dāgí, kwɔ̀ʃ rach, yí ba wet. Ka
kɛ̀ta pache gɛ̀ɲ, e lɛ̀gɛ̀ bań, a gɛ̀re fārɛ̀, a chāń ńíŋ́ Alɛ̄ɲɔ̀, a gɛ̀ra tɛ̀k ɖɔ̀k.

A certain man whose name was Ocholo (that is "Shilluk") was a slave of Nyi- 539*
kang. When one day he accompanied Nyikang to the river, he became a fish 773
and he lifted his head above the water, saying, "buh!"[2] Nyikang did not know
what to do; he went home, made a fish-spear (a harpoon), and tied a fish-line

[1] Vide page 159.
[2] a much used exclamation of surprise.

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*539 to its end. He went to the river again, the fish lifted his head above the water, saying, "buh!" Then Nyikang stabbed the fish, but he missed him; — this man was a jwok.[1] He once more lifted his head out, and Nyikang tried to stab him, but again missed him. At last Nyikang was tired, and he went home. When he came home, he found this same man gathering cow dung.

The next day Nyikang returned to the river bank; this man also returned; he lifted up his head out of the water, crying, "buh!" Nyikang stabbed him, but he missed him, so he went on till the afternoon, then Nyikang went home. He called Dak, saying, "Dak, son of man, there is a big fish in the river, I have failed to catch it, I tried to stab it, but I failed." Dak replied, "Well, what fish can there be in that small river?" Nyikang said, "Well, you just go and see it, it is a fish with a very strong voice. I stabbed it, but I always missed it. I do not know what to do with it, son of man."

Dak went, he went to the river. The fish lifted up its head, saying, "Buh!" He stabbed it, but missed it. He came home, saying, "I do not know how to stab it!" But Nyikang replied, "Oh, my cousin, you have not yet tried properly." Dak made his spear handle straight, and went again. The fish lifted up its head, saying, "Buh!" In this moment Dak threw the spear at the place where the splashing of the water was, and the spear fell on the fish (hit it). Then the man (the fish) arose, and said, "Ah, Dak, your talk is bad, you are a cunning one!" He (the fish-man) went home, he became a subject (of Nyikang), he (Nyikang) built him a village, and called its name Alengo, he built it beside the brook Dok.

59. Nyikang and the Sorcerers.

*539 *Ńikaá ka e mɔ́ɔ́ŋ̀ ka e kɔ́ɔ́ɛ́ fɔ̀tɛ mɛ́kɛ, ka e kɔ: ɟ, wa kɔ̀bí ádí? Jɔ̄ ɪ́ɟdí gɛ́ ajwɔ̀k, ka Ńikaá a ɟalí, ka e kɔ: bɛ́́h, ɣ jɔ̄ fich adí? Kɔ: ɟ! Ka e lɛ́ŋɛ́ yɪ̄mɛ, ka Ńikaá lɛ́ŋɛ́ ɔdííɛ, ka pat nimɛ, ka jɔ̄ gat ɪ́ɟmɛ, ka gɛ mɔ́ŋɛ́. Ka gɛ kɔ́ɔ́ɛ́ pach, ka gɛ gɔ́ɔ́ɛ́ pɔ̄ gin (gɛn).*

Bɛ̀r ga kaa wɔ̄maá, gɛr Twɛ́lɛ́ŋá. Ka wɔ́kí ɟeaá, ɟe nam, ogɪ́gɪ̀.

*539 When Nyikang was capturing (men), he went to a certain country, and he said, "Ah, what shall we say?" Because these people were witch-doctors, and Nyikang got into difficulties (trying to capture them). Again he said, "Why, what shall I do with these people? Ah, I have found out!" And he turned into a wind, and then he turned into a cloud-shadow, and covered the earth (so that it was dark and the wizards could not see anything); so he caught them. He brought them, and built them a village.

These are the descendants of the woman, they live at Twolang. Nyikang gave them a cow, a cow of the river, an ogego.

[1] *jwok* = "God".

60. A War against Turtles.

Riɨ mɛkɛ chwɛlá Mɛ́i, omyɛn Ńikaṅ. Ka e ɟɛ́kɔ̀; ka kɛta bɛ mɛ́ɛ́ɛ fɔ̄te ɟure mɛkɛ, chwɛla Bɛ̄lɛ. Ka gɛ mɛ́ṅ, ka gɛ nɛ́gí.

Ka pɔ̄te mɛkɛ chwɛla Ótɛ́n, ka Otɛn mɛ́ṅ. Ka e lɛgɛ pūk. Ka feńe gɛ̄lɛ́. Cha ɠāɲɛ pɛ́kí peń, ko gɛ ńí kɛ́jí; ka leń nɛ́kɔ̀ pūk. A kɛnɛ pach a dwaí Dāk; a kɔ̄bɛ́ Dāk kɛne: a gin ɓńɔ̀? Jal gni ko: lɛ́ń mɛkɛ, ya ɠdlɛ́ ɛn (ɣɛ́n), dɛ ńa ńɛmɔ̄ɔ̄ɛ́ ɠāɲɛ, leń kɛ́ch, ɠāɲɛ ńí kɛ́jé kɔ̄ɟɔ̀. Kɛ́tɛ́ gɔ̀n, e ko: e bɛt ūńɛ? Kɛne: ɛ, kúchɔ̀ ydn. A ko Dāk kɛne: ɛ, faṭe gin lwɛgá au? E ko: ńgt aɓrɛ̀! A tyɛ́ɛ́ gɛ́n, a ɠɔ̄ɔ̄ɛ́ bɛ̄ɛ, a tiń leń. Ka Dāk e ko: wa kɛta mal! Ka kɛta mal, ka tɛrɛ kōpe kɛne kɛne kɛne: kɛ̄k pɛ́ń! Ka tɛrɛ chɔ̄ɟɛ kɛ̄ka pɛ́ń. Ka kwɔ̄kɔ̀ Dāk, ka gɛ ɣàlɔ̀ wɛk, ka leń é nɛ̄k, duɛ̄gɛ pach.

Ka chíka lɛ́ń mɛkɛ tiṅɛ, tiń fɔ̄te Bɛ̄lɛ, ka leń e kɛɟɛ, ka leń kɛtɛ wɛr ka o mɔdɔ̀ kɛne kɛne; poɲ gni e lɛgɛ mɔdɔ̀. Ka ńí dɛme yí ɠāɲ, ka ɠāɲ ńí ɲ̄. Ka Dāk chíkí leń tiṅɛ kɛtɛ, ka Dāk e kɔ̄bɛ kíne: kɔ̄de ɣɛ́ɟɛ́! Ka ɣɛɟí kɔ̄t, ka leń fɛka feń kí bute fūn gni, ka e lɛgɛ mɔdɔ kɛtɛ, ka e bɛnɛ, ka Dāk e ko: chwoń mach! Ka ɣɛɟe chwoń mach, ka omɔdo kɛnɛ, ka ńí gɛcha mach yí Dāk. Ka ɣɛ̄ɟɛ́ mɔdɔ, ka leń nɛk yí Dāk, ka mak kɛne.

A kɛn tɛrɛ pach, a kɔ̄bɛ́ Mɛ́i, omya Ńikaṅ, a kɔ̄bɛ́ kíne: Dāgí kwaṅ ldu! A kwaṅ lāu yí Dāk. Yina rāmé ńɛ̄ɔ̀; a ńāɲí kwɛp kɛ̄n, a ɟɛ́kɛ́. A tíńe leń, a mɛńí jur mɛkɛ, a máɲé gɔ̀n, a lɛgɛ bāńé.

A gɛra wɛt ɛ tɛ̄k, a kɔ̄bɛ́ Ńikaṅ kíne: Dāgí, wɛt a gɛ̄r yí tɛ̄k, dɛ yí jɛt kí kwārɔ̀. A kɔ̄bɛ́ kíne: dɛ̄dɛ (dɛ grɛ)? wɔda ɣ gɛ̄rè yaw yau kí lāńé. A ńí gɛ̄re kwārɛ lāńɛ.

A certain king called Moi, a brother of Nyikang, ruled the Shilluk country. He went out to conquer some people called Belo (near Chai = Rossires). He conquered the tribe, and destroyed it.

Again there was another country, a country called Oten, he went to conquer this too. But the people of Oten turned into turtles, they buried themselves in the ground. And when the people of Moi sat down, they bit them; thus the turtles were victorious. Moi went home, and called for Dak. Dak asked, "What is the matter?" Moi said, "I have been defeated, I do not know what to do with them, you son of the sister of man! It was a very hard war indeed, my men were awfully bitten in the rear." He asked, "How so?" Moi answered, "Eh, I do not know." Dak replied, "Ah, is not that a simple matter?" He said "Cut sticks!" He sharpened the sticks, he made them like fish spears. Then he raised an army. Dak said, "Let me go ahead!" He went ahead, and he told all the people in the army, "Prick the ground!" So all the people, while they were walking, pricked the ground; thus Dak had the whole ground pricked, and the turtles came out, and the enemy was defeated, and they returned home.

Again he raised an army, he raised it against the country of Belo. The army

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*539 •773 went; it came to fighting during the night, the air was full of fireflies. It was the country of the fireflies. They fell upon the men, and the men died. When Dak fought against these people, he told his warriors, "Make grass torches!" They made grass torches; when the army came near the village and sat down there, the fireflies came; Dak said, "Light the torches!" They set fire to the torches, and when the fireflies came, Dak had the grass torches thrown at them; thus the enemy was destroyed by Dak, he caught them all.

When the people (the warriors) came home, Moi, the brother of Nyikang, said, "Dak, take the royal cloth (become our king)! You are a man of many thoughts, you know all matters!" Dak took the cloth, and he ruled.

He raised an army to wage war against a certain tribe, he destroyed them, and they became his slaves.

While Dak was absent, a house was built (by Nyikang and Moi); and when he returned, Nyikang told him, "Dak, we have been building a house (for you) during your absence, but there are not sufficient poles." Dak replied, "But what does that matter? I shall build my house with nabag poles." So it became a custom for the people to build with nabag poles.

61. Praising Nyikang.

*539 *Ka kuēiyɛ ka e chwɔu, ka tɛ́n̄ leí tyɛ̀k, ka e kɛ̀ɲò, ka e kɛ̀tò. Ka leí nɛ̄gé. A lɛ̀n tɛ̀rò, a mɛ̄gɛ ɲòk, a kɛ̀l ɲòk, a gɛ̀r pen. A wumɛ gɛ̀rò, a chip jṓ kúrè, mɔ̀k chip Mwɔmɔ, mɔ̀k chip Tɛ̄́n.*

Our grandfather,[1] he roared, and he surrounded the enemies on all sides, and he went, and fought. He killed the enemies; then the (Shilluk) people came, they caught the cattle (of the enemy), they brought the cattle. They built houses in the country; when they had finished building, he appointed watchmen (men who had to watch the boundaries of the Shilluk country against their enemies), some on the northern boundary at Mwomo, and some on the southern boundary at Tonga.

[1] i. e. Nyikang.

X. CREATION.

71. The Creation of Men.

*539 *Dɔɔ́ faŋ wɛ́ɲá.*[1] *a tʊ́ʊ́lá kɲɔ̀. Wiyɛ faŋ jʊ́ŋ́. Wá tʊ́ŋ́le jʊ́ŋ́ gɛn dryùu, mɛ́n à lɔ́jɔ́, nár yí mɔ́yɛ́, mɛ́n à tàr, o chɛ̀t. Kɛ́t bɔ̀n jʊ́ŋ́, e tɔ́ɔ́ɲ́ mɛ́n à tàr, mɛ́n a lɔ́jɔ́, tí kɔ́n. A kɔ́bí jʊ́ŋ́ kɛ́ne: ɛ́rɛ́ kɔ́nɛ́? Kɛ́ne: bógɔ̀n!*[2] *A kɔ́bí jʊ́ŋ́ kɛ́ne: ɛ́! wɔ́lí yín lɛ́ kɔ́ne yau! Yan nárá mɛ́n à tàr, tyɛ́t à lɔ́jɔ́, y jákè mɛ́n à tàr. A kɛ́ɲ́ɛ́ wʊ́ŋ́, gua mɛ́n à lɔ́jɔ́. A kɔ́bí jʊ́ŋ́: ɛ́rɛ́ (yɛ́dɛ́) kɛ́ɲ́ɛ́? Kɛ́ne: ɛ́, chákú ká kɛ́ɲ́e yàu. A wɛ́kè wʊ́ŋ́ bwɔ́ɔ́ɲ́, a wɛ́kè twɔ́ɔ́ch bwɔ́ɔ́ɲ́, a wɛ́kè gɔ́jɔ́, a wɛ́kè jam bɛ́n, a nárá yí jʊ́ŋ́. A jɛ́k tyɛ́t a lɔ́jɔ́ yí olwɔ́ɔ́ anan.*

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The cow is our grandmother, she bore a gourd. Our father is God. We were two of us born by God, (a black one and a white one). The black one was beloved by his mother; but the white one was hated. When God came, she showed him the white one, but the black one she hid. God asked, "Why do you hide him?" She said, "For nothing." Then God said, "Well, do but hide him, I like the white one." The black people shall be ruled by the white people. On that she brought the black one out too. God asked, "Why do you bring him out?" She said: "Oh, I just brought him out (without any special reason)."

To the white one were given the book, and the gun, and the sword, and all kinds of goods, he is loved by God. So now the black people are governed by the white.[3]

71 a. On Totemism.

*539 *Wudɔ́ kí ɔ̀pɛ̀k kí Dɛ́ɲ́ kák kí yay kɲɔ̀, gɛn a chɛ́ɲ́k. Ka Dɛ́ɲ́ bɛ́a pack, ka wudɔ́ kɛ́ɲ́e fɛ́l, ka ɛ́ŋ́ak e fɛ́rɔ̀, ka a tʊ́ʊ́ɲ́D mɛ́n yí Dɛ́ɲ́. A bɛ́ɲ́e Akwɔ́ɔ́ɲ́ kí rei Dɔ́wɛ́ɲ́t, a bɛ́ɲ́e fɛ́ɲ́e Chɛ́l, e yɛ́ɲ́ jɔ́ rɛ́ɲ́. Ka ɛ́ɲ́t wɛ́ɲ́, ka wɛ́ɲ́ɛ́ kɛ́ɲ́ Fɛ́ɲ́ɛ́kɛ́ɲ́ Odurɛ́ɲ́jɔ́, a dɛ́ɲ́ɛ́ kí Fɛ́ɲ́ɛ́dwɔ́ɔ́, faŋ dɛ́ɲ́ɛ́ mɛ́n. Kɔ́ɔ́ fa Jɔ́ɔ́ɲ́, wɛ́t Ñɛ́ɲ́ɛ́l, ka bɛ́ɲ́e fɛ́ɲ́e Chɛ́l, ene a tʊ́ʊ́ɲ́ɛ́ Atɛ́ɲ́, e tí rɛ́ɲ́, gua Adefɛ́ɲ́lɛ́ anan.*

Wudɔ́ kí ɔ̀pɛ̀k wɛ́t wɛ́ɲ́, fa chɔ́m yí mɛ́n kífa dwɛ́ɲ́lɛ́.

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The ostrich and the crow and *Dɛ́ɲ́*[4] were split[5] out of the gourd, all three are three-twin children. *Dɛ́ɲ́* went into a certain village, the ostrich went into the bush, and the crow flew up. We were born by *Dɛ́ɲ́*. *Akwɔ́ɔ́ɲ́* (the son of *Dɛ́ɲ́*) came in the time of *Dɔ́wɛ́ɲ́t* (a brother of *Ñɛ́ɲ́ɛ́l*), he came into the Shilluk country to the people of the king (that is to Fashoda). And when we became many, some went to *Fɛ́ɲ́ɛ́kɛ́ɲ́ Odurɛ́ɲ́jɔ́*, but some remained at *Fɛ́ɲ́ɛ́dwɔ́ɔ́*.

Remarks see on page 179.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Thus we separated from each other. Our grandfather was *Jotan*, a son of *Ńabil*, he came into the Shilluk country; it is he who married *Aqi*. He was king. That is the beginning of (the village of) *Adefālo*. — The ostrich and the crow are of our family. They are not eaten by us on account of the *dočlo*-sickness.

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[1] *nōńo* "our grandmother". Here, as is sometimes the case, the pronoun of the third person sing. has the meaning of the first person pl.
[2] There is not, viz. a reason.
[3] With the exception of the first sentence this report is recent, because it relates to *white and black men*.
[4] These three are the "parents" not of the whole Shilluk people, but only of the tribe *Fešikan*, which lives at the mouth of the Sobat. Each tribe has its own "parents", which generally are animals.
[5] This means: the cow (see page 156) brought forth a gourd, the gourd split, and out of it went forth the ostrich, etc.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

partly a creative process, and there is no writing to establish a preferred and approved text. Shilluk experience and knowledge of their world, which we here try to understand by analysis and systematization, is by them synthesised in an imaginative whole, at the centre of which are their early leader and hero, Nyikang, and the divine being which they call *juok*. Though *juok* is thought ultimately to dispose what happens in the universe, Nyikang, who created the Shilluk kingdom, is the subject of most mythology. There is nowhere any indication that the Shilluk have formulated elaborate ideas of the general order of all creation. Their notion of cosmogenesis is of the creation of that order which, as they see it, was built up by Nyikang, and has been maintained by his successors, the Shilluk kings. Before considering the wider significance of Nyikang and *juok*, it is convenient to give a brief account of the land of the Shilluk, the life they lead in it, and the general outlines of their social organization. With these in mind, it is possible to analyse their cosmological ideas in the broad outline to which an essay of this length is necessarily restricted.

Environment and History

The Shilluk live along the west bank of the Nile in the south of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, where their hamlets are built in close succession, following the line of the river from around Kaka to Lake No. They are about 110,000 people,[1] densely settled on a narrow strip of savannah country nearly 200 miles long, and four to five walking-hours in width. The soil is black and fertile near the river and its inlets, becoming sandier towards the neighbouring Arab country in the north and the Arab and Nuba country of Kordofan to the west. On the east bank of the Nile are the related Dinka, the Shilluks' neighbours to the east and south, and there are Shilluk settlements, bounded by Dinka and Nuer, on the east bank and on the lower reaches of the Sobat. Though their values are predominantly those of a cattle-herding people, the Shilluk lead a less pastoral, transhumant life than the Nuer or Dinka.[2] Their cattle are estimated at 25,000, and they keep sheep and goats. Since their settlements are strung along the bank of the Nile, they can find grass for their herds near home in the dry season, from January to April, and cultivation seems to receive more time and attention among them than among less sedentary Nilotes. From June to September the rains fall, and much of the country becomes flooded. The early rains are the time for sowing the staple crop of millet, of which many varieties are grown, along with maize, sesame, and various beans and pumpkins. These depend upon the rains, and are harvested between September and November. Tobacco, also called 'the grass of the ancestors', depends on hand-watering from the river, near which it is grown in the dry season.

[1] The authorities vary considerably in their estimates of the human and cattle population. The figures given here are quoted from those given by Mr. John Donald, of the Sudan Political Service, and published by Professor Evans-Pritchard, 1948.

[2] P. P. Howell and W. P. G. Thomson, 1946.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

behaviour. Although there are many Shilluk names by which non-Nilotic foreigners may be distinguished from each other, they are also classed together as *obwonyo* (foreigners), a word also used for a reddish millet,[1] and as such they are distinguished collectively from Nilotic peoples who are not included in this category. The Nuba (*dongo* or *dhongo*)[2] seem to occupy a special position among foreigners, for Nyikang himself established a relationship with them by marrying his daughter to a Nuba.

As the Shilluk see it, the other Nilotes were separated from them in the course of a common history. To explain the presence and dominance of foreigners from outside their Nilotic world, they have stories of a metaphysical kind, positing some special act of God. These stories have clearly been invented in recent times for purely explanatory purposes. Shilluk interest in foreigners, as shown in myth and song, centres primarily on the way in which they have been opposed by Nyikang and the Shilluk, and the more they can be subordinated to Nyikang, the more they are assimilated to Shilluk tradition. Thus, it seems that the fighting with the invaders of their country in fairly recent times has, for the Shilluk, little of the imaginative significance which they attach to superficially trivial incidents in the lives of their early kings. If Hofmayr's derivation[3] of the word *obwonyo* (foreigner) is correct, the Shilluks' first national enemy, whom Nyikang urged them to resist, gave their name to others who followed. Nyikang and his successors, the Shilluk kings, are thought to have been the leaders of opposition to such national enemies. Nyikang both relates the Shilluk to other Nilotes whom they know, and focuses their hostility to attacks on their national integrity and exclusiveness. He represents, in this and other ways which may later be considered, the specifically Shilluk way of life and thought.

The Order of the World and Society

The order of Shilluk society is best approached by a consideration of the myths of migration under Nyikang, for some features of Shilluk society are thought to have originated in that period. Some of the details of these myths cannot be fully understood without a preliminary knowledge of the main natural divisions of the Shilluk world. Writers on the Shilluk do not report any story of an original state of chaos, in the strict sense, when man, earth, and sky were together in one undifferentiated whole, though such stories exist among the Dinka. There are Shilluk stories which do seem to suggest that at one time the world was not differentiated as it now is. For

[1] J. A. Hessty, 1937; Westermann, 1912, p. 248, transliterates the word for red millet slightly differently from the word for foreigners. Hofmayr, 1925, says that the word is derived from *ya puny*, the name originally given by the Shilluk to the Fung, with whom they were in early contact. Another word for the Fung, said to include the people of Sennar generally, is *cai*.

[2] Heasty, 1937, *et al.* *Dongo* probably means 'hill-people'. In a hymn quoted by Hofmayr 1925, p. 7, the Fung or the people of Sennar are referred to as *dongo cai*.

[3] See note 1.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

example, it is said that[1] originally God (*juok*) had the people in his land, until they ate fruit which made them sick, and God therefore sent them away. Another story tells that there was once a road to the moon which men could use, but they became too heavy to do so, in circumstances which are not here relevant.[2] Yet another story[3] tells how the sun and moon used to live together, until they quarrelled and therefore are no longer together. In some Shilluk myths (to be considered later) it is said that some men were not differentiated from animals and other creatures. There is thus the implication, though it may be conveyed in stories which are perhaps not told very seriously, that some things which were once together are now apart. The broadest division of the space around them recognized by the Shilluk is between what is above (the sky) and what is below (the earth). There is a Shilluk riddle which runs: 'What are the two half-round things (in Shilluk, *opunne*, literally 'loaves') of God (*juok*)?' and the answer is 'heaven and earth'. Hofmayr gives the explanation that 'the form in which this is figured is that of a loaf of bread'.[4] Besides sky and earth, there is the river, a third main region of the Shilluk spatial ambient. This tripartite division of the universe into earth, sky, and river, corresponds, of course, to the real categories which anyone in Shilluk country is bound in some way to acknowledge, and in which he is bound on some occasions to think. The savannah country is without mountains, ravines, forests, or other distinctive natural features which might diversify its general contours, and strike the imagination forcibly enough to modify the clarity of the simple, primary distinctions which a man observes in the natural world around him. In such a land, where there is nothing of any size to break the horizon, the sky does indeed become apparent as separate region, almost a place, in relation to the earth. Besides these, there is the river, reflecting both earth and sky. The crops and grass, on which the Shilluk and their herds depend, require that the sky should send rain and the river should rise, and they also need the fish which the river contains. The three regions of earth, sky, and river have values and associations which make the division significant in Shilluk religion and cosmology, as well as in their economy. Their Nilotic neighbours live in a country which, generally, is not unlike their own. The real foreigners come from country of different and inferior quality. Among the Dinka and Nuer also it is thought that the real foreigners come from a country different in nature from their own.

Legends of Nyikang

Legends of the birth and wanderings of Nyikang do not suggest that they occurred in a country very different from that in which the Shilluk now live, but it was a long way away from the present Shilluk kingdom. We are told that the land of Duwat, or the land of Kero, from which the Shilluk

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 238. The details may be Christian.
[2] Ibid., p. 366. [3] Ibid., p. 364. [4] 1925, p. 399.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

originally came, was to the south of their present home, but whether south-west or south-east varies from one account to another. This homeland was 'at the end (or "head") of the earth,'[1] and near a great lake.[2] Apart from this, we hear only that in that land there was a king, called Okwa, and that he was the father of Duwat, Nyikang, and other sons. Also, there was then no death, for as people became old, they were trampled by cattle, and became infants again.[3] Accounts of this first land, which also represents the beginning of Shilluk historical time, are sparse and simple. This may be consistent with the fact that in this original land and time, the Shilluk suppose that they were not differentiated from others of the Luo-speaking group. Their accounts of this early period are like their other most general cosmological ideas, in showing little of the development and systematization which come from meditation and reflection; elaboration and detail appear in their myths with the emergence of Nyikang, and therefore with the beginning of the Shilluk royal house and the Shilluk nation. Of the time before that, they know only the little which has here been stated.

There are various accounts of the birth of Nyikang. In one, it is said that he was the son of Okwa, who was the son of Omara, who came from heaven.[4] In another he is the son of Okwa, but Okwa traces descent through several forefathers to a great white or grey cow, which was created by God in the river.[5] Nyikang's mother, Nyakaya, was either a crocodile, or partly crocodile, and is now associated with the crocodile in Shilluk thought, though she is also a woman. In all versions of the story of Nyikang's ancestry, his descent is traced through his father to a man who came from heaven, or from a special creation of God in the form of a cow, and his mother is a creature of the river with the attributes of the crocodile. Nyakaya, the mother of Nyikang, represents in Shilluk thought the totality of riverain beings and phenomena, and offerings are made to her on the river bank, at the grassy spots where the crocodile emerges. She is also especially associated with birth and with new-born babies.[6] Seligman was told that 'unusual behaviour on the part of almost any land animal would lead the Shilluk to look upon the creature as a temporary incarnation of Nyikang', while 'unusual behaviour on the part of a water animal would be put down to the animal incarnating the spirit of Nikaiya (Nyakai)'.[7]

Nyikang and his followers started their wanderings from their original home as a result of a quarrel between Nyikang and his half-brother, sometimes said to be his 'brother', Duwat.[8] They quarrelled about who should succeed their father, Okwa, as leader and king. Since Duwat was elected, Nyikang left with his faction. According to one story, he took the royal

[1] Oyler, 1918 (i). This is also a common Dinka idea, though they say that this land was 'at the foot of the earth'. It has for them not only the suggestion of remoteness, but also of being the time and place from which their traditions start.

[2] M. E. C. Pumphrey, 1941.

[3] Oyler, 1918 (i).

[4] Westermann, 1912, p. 157.

[5] Ibid., pp. 155 ff., *et al.*

[6] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 159.

[7] C. G. Seligman, 1932, p. 86.

[8] Westermann, 1912, p. 159.

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Dak. In this story, and in the weaker, female associations of the effigy of Cal, I think we may see represented by contrast the value which the Shilluk attach to courage and warlike qualities in their king, for the aggressive, headstrong Dak supersedes in importance the weaker eldest son, Cal. In songs Dak is the symbol of fighting.[1]

As a result of Dak's and Nyikang's quarrel with Dimo, Nyikang's wife's father, Nyikang and his followers set off once more on their wanderings, while Dimo and his people went in the other direction towards the Bahr-el-Ghazal. It may be noted that Dak, in quarrelling with his mother's people and cleaving to his father, showed in an exaggerated form the nature of the loyalties of the royal sons today, as they should ideally be. Their claim to importance for the whole kingdom is through their father the king and his agnates, and not through their mother's people. A conflict of loyalties between the father's and the mother's people, implicit in other Nilotic societies, is here resolved in a myth of the Shilluk kingship by the aggression of Dak against his maternal uncle Dimo. The main incidents in the further migration of Nyikang, Dak, and their followers, are a fight with Garo, the son of the Sun, Cang, and the crossing of a river, said to have been the Bahr-el-Ghazal, beyond which Nyikang settled his people in their present kingdom. Between them and their present home, there was a river covered with the floating vegetation, the *sudd*, which even now accumulates on these reaches of the Nile and its tributaries. One of Nyikang's followers, an albino, asked Nyikang to clear a way for the people to cross by spearing him in the river. Nyikang did so, and this letting of blood cleared a way for the Shilluk to reach their present home.[2] Hence one of Nyikang's many praise-names, or titles of honour, means 'crosser of the river' (the Bahr-el-Ghazal). The fight with the Sun and his son, an incident which seems to suggest to Hofmayr[3] some early contact between the Shilluk and the Galla, occurred when the Shilluk were temporarily settled on the river bank, before crossing. Nyikang then lost a cow. It was reported to be in the herd of the Sun, and Dak set out with his followers to reclaim it. He fought with Garo, the son of the Sun, and cut off Garo's hand or finger in order to get a silver ring or bracelet. In the course of the fight, Nyikang drove the Sun back into the sky, and revived his army by sprinkling them with water, or by touching them with the silver bracelet. Another version is that Nyikang made the Sun shine at night so that the fight might go on.[4] Others of Nyikang's titles of honour refer to this victory over the Sun. The silver from the ring or bracelet is said to have been used for silver emblems—a bracelet and spear

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 63.

[2] Westermann, 1912, *et al.*

[3] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 61, where the Shilluk names for the Sun and his son, Cang and Garo, are said to be similar to those for a division of the Galla, *Yangaro*, *Tsangaro*, or *Djindjiro*, and other details of the story are said to connect with the Galla. If this is so, there must have been some contact between the Western Dinka of the Bahr-el-Ghazal and the Galla, since they have the same story.

[4] I do not give all the details of this story, of which there are many versions. The résumé here given follows Hofmayr, 1925, pp. 60–62, and Westermann, 1912, pp. 159–61.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

ornaments—which are among the royal emblems of the Shilluk at the present day, and are given to a new king at his installation.[1] The crossing of the river and the fight with the Sun seem to be occurrences of great imaginative importance for the Shilluk, as they are for the Western Dinka, in whose mythology they appear in a different form, and by whom they are associated, though in different ways, with a mythical leader who in many ways resembles Nyikang. It may be mentioned that the sun, in Shilluk country, seems to be at its hottest at the end of the dry season, just before the rains, and its heat is in a sense overcome when the rains fall. Nyikang is believed to bring the rain, and in that sense still revives his people by sprinkling them with water. At this time, too, those who have been herding cattle for the dry season on islands in the river or in pastures on the east bank of the Nile, must return to their homes on the west bank to cultivate, crossing the river in order to do so. The subduing of the Sun, and the crossing of the river by Nyikang and his followers, thus recur in different form in the lives of the Shilluk. They still have to take their cattle to pasture across the river during the dry season, and return home with them when the rains start. Westermann says that:

> The Shilluks along the White Nile cross over to the east bank; likewise the cattle of the Sobat Shilluks descend to the lagoons south of the Sobat. So in both cases they have to cross the rivers, which is, on account of the many crocodiles living in them, not undangerous, and is therefore done with much care and accompanied by weighty ceremonies in order to keep the crocodiles away; this forms an important part of the duties of the witch-doctor.[2]

In the account he gives of such a river crossing, it is said that the cattle are led behind ambatch canoes which the Shilluk use.[3] It will be remembered that the effigy of the 'crosser of the river', Nyikang, used in the installation ceremonies for the king is also made of ambatch.[4] Nyikang is important for that crossing on which the Shilluk herds depend for their grazing. In another Shilluk text Nyikang asks his mother, Nyakaya, to dry up the river in order to help his people against foreign enemies.[5]

In the stories here summarized, Nyikang, the leader and first king of the Shilluk, is able to affect celestial phenomena—he may also raise winds and bring rain—and he divides the river to lead his people across. By agnatic descent he is linked either with a man from heaven or with a special creation of God, and through his mother, Nyakaya, he is linked with the river. He is also the leader by whom the Shilluk were first differentiated as a separate people, and who gave them their present land. His praise-names and titles of honour acknowledge and record his association with sky, river, and earth. Apart from those already mentioned, he has the names 'heaven'

[1] Crazzolara, 1930, p. 39.
[2] Westermann, 1912, Introduction, xxix-xxx.
[3] Ibid., p. 178.
[4] Thomson, 1948, p. 139. This is a correction of Howell and Thomson, 1946, where it is said that the effigy of Nyikang was made of bamboo, like that of his son Dak.
[5] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 55.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

or 'the above', and 'cloud'; he is called 'son of the Nile' and 'son of the river';[1] and in hymns[2] he is called 'our earth' or 'master of the earth'. Thus, all three regions of the Shilluk universe are nominally assimilated to Nyikang, and he to them. It is the single person of Nyikang which gives all three regions their coherence in a single world. There is no other figure in Shilluk mythology, except his successors and representatives the Shilluk kings, who thus associates earth, sky, and river, belonging in part to all.

Significance of Nyikang in the Shilluk World View

Although Nyikang was a man, and is conceived as such by the Shilluk, he is believed not to have died, and thus he is not identified with ordinary men.[3] He is said to have disappeared. Oyler[4] gives some of the expressions which the Shilluk use of Nyikang's end; 'he was lost', 'he returned to his country', 'he went up', 'he became wind', 'he went and lives': all expressions implying that he did not die. He adds that the Shilluk say 'that if Nikawng should die, the whole Shilluk race would perish'. Even now the king of the Shilluk is not spoken of as having died, though the later Shilluk kings, unlike Nyikang and his immediate successors, are thought to have become mortal. Since, as I have suggested, Nyikang is a notion by which the Shilluk apprehend a unity and coherence in the specifically Shilluk world, it is understandable that now, when a king dies, the Shilluk say, 'there is no land—the Shilluk country has ceased to be'.[5] It is not simply that Nyikang and his successors are thought to maintain the order of the Shilluk social and natural universe as though from a position above and outside it. In Nyikang, and in the kings, the parts which make up that order are correlated, and the correlation is apprehended in a single term, Nyikang. He and his successors are thought of as real historical persons, living at their own particular times and with their own unique characteristics and legends. They also represent the idea of a timeless state, unaffected by the chronological succession of events. Every king, representing Nyikang, represents the principle which unifies the Shilluk as a nation, and brings into focus the widest range of specifically Shilluk ideas about the order of nature and of society.

It was Nyikang who first separated the Shilluk people from others of the same stock, who ordered them not to mix with their early enemies,[6] who differentiated them among themselves by associating different lineages with different territories and, where totemic, with different totems, and who made the territorial divisions of Shilluk-land. Thus, he is both a unifying and a differentiating principle in Shilluk thought. The processes of individuation and separation, attributed to Nyikang, involve the creation of the ordered relationship of the individual and separate parts to each other, as the Shilluk understand it. Myths of Nyikang are ways of apprehending that relationship. It is said, for example, that the Nuba have some right,

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 43.
[2] Ibid., p. 45.
[3] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 18.
[4] Ibid., *passim*.
[5] Oyler, 1918 (i), p. 115.
[6] Hofmayr, op. cit., p. 7.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

which is now not exercised, to take part in the election of the Shilluk king. This right comes from Nyikang, who originally married his daughter to a Nuba, and received from the Nuba an inlaid stool, a replica of which is now the 'throne' of the Shilluk.[1] Such a myth, for the Shilluk, gives the Nuba a customary place in the social order of the Shilluk world. There are other examples which show that Nyikang explains differentiation, as he explains the relationship between the differentiated parts. One illustration may be taken from a myth of Nyikang's making people from animals,[2] and another, from the nature of the territorial divisions of the Shilluk kingdom.

It is said that when Nyikang first arrived in his land with his followers, he made people for his kingdom out of insects, fish, and animals. These he captured and turned into human beings, and they are the origin of the Shilluk common people. After Nyikang had made these people from the animal creation, 'the parent stock was removed by death', so that their children might not know of their origin. So the Shilluk common people derive their humanity, and their separateness from the animal creation, from the action of Nyikang. They claim, however, that their totems were given them by Nyikang,[3] who thus both separated them from the non-human creation, and also established an ordered relationship between some of the descent groups of his kingdom and various non-human species. According to another account, Nyikang alone was able to recognize that men were masquerading as animals and, seeing through this confusion, he captured them and made them into the men they really were.[4] This story shows Nyikang able to distinguish between appearance and reality, and to assimilate the reality to his kingdom.

Partition of the Shilluk kingdom by Nyikang

The clearest example of Nyikang's position in Shilluk cosmology—that is, their apprehension of the differentiation and the correlation of the parts of their world—is to be found in the territorial partition of the Shilluk kingdom, and this is here described at some length. Nyikang is thought to have entered present Shilluk country in the south-west, near Tonga, and to have moved along the west bank of the river until he established the northern limits of his country near Muomo, founding villages on the way, and associating them with his followers, his clients, or himself. The dominant lineages of various Shilluk settlements thus owe their association with the land in which they live to Nyikang. Westermann says that the Shilluk themselves think of their land as a whole by referring to Tonga and Muomo, its most northerly and southerly settlements, which term 'corresponds exactly to the expression of the ancient Hebrews: from Dan unto Bersheba'.[5] Shilluk country is now divided into two provinces, Ger, or Gerr, in the north and

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 31.
[2] Westermann, 1912, p. 156; Oyler, 1918, pp. 111, 112.
[3] Hofmayr, op. cit., p. 235.
[4] Oyler, 1918 (i), p. 111.
[5] Westermann, op. cit., Introduction, xx.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

643 elect and the effigy of Nyikang then ceases, and the effigies are returned to their shrines and the king is installed. Thus, in order that the king-elect of the Shilluk shall be understood to have become one with Nyikang, separation and opposition between him and the effigy of Nyikang are created and resolved after fighting in mock battle. This resolution of the separateness 182 of the king-elect and Nyikang is also a unification of the moieties of the 643 Shilluk kingdom for, in the mock fighting, Gol Nyikang supports the king-elect, while Gol Dhiang supports the effigy of Nyikang. Here again 631 Nyikang and the Shilluk king may be seen to represent the principle by 616 which the whole Shilluk kingdom is differentiated into parts, and by which these parts are again comprehended in a whole. In the installation of the new king the unity and integrity of the Shilluk kingdom under Nyikang and the king are stressed at the same time as the *necessary* nature of its parts. The uniting of the parts is not then a function of their subordination to a larger national whole, to which their rights to separate existence are surrendered.[1] It is a function of the acceptance by all of Nyikang and the king, through whom are understood the notions of unity in diversity, which have here been briefly discussed.

The Concept of Juok (God)

182 There is a Shilluk proverb which says that 'the Shilluk customs come 776 from Nyikang',[2] and I have preferred to suggest something of the general significance of Nyikang, rather than to exemplify in detail all the customs which the Shilluk say are derived from him. For, in saying that their customs derive from Nyikang, the Shilluk are speaking both of an original and supposedly historical king, and of complex notions of order and permanence which form what we should have to call a metaphysical system. When the Shilluk make an ideal correlation, whether of parts of the body social, or parts of Shilluk-land, or parts of the natural physical ambient, they introduce the concept of Nyikang. By reference to him they make the most inclusive summary of the detailed order of their world and grasp that order in a single term.

776 Nyikang is necessary for the Shilluk understanding of their social and spatial categories, but he does not explain his own existence, nor the grounds for the reality which, for the Shilluk, he ordered in the categories by which they comprehend it. The nature of that reality is understood through the notion of *juok*, God, to which I now turn. It has already been said that the Shilluk explain the superiority and dominance of foreigners by a pre- [773] ference shown them by *juok*. In Shilluk story it is *juok*, not Nyikang, who created the world, and *juok* is the being who maintains it and informs it in its entirety. We have so far considered, in the Shilluk understanding of Nyikang, a notion by which a wide range of phenomena are comprehended in their interrelations and explained; to that extent we have

[1] In contradistinction to some European theories of the nation-state.

[2] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 376.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

a cow, for example. In a text given by Westermann[1] the hare is taught and saved by *juok*. The hare (or rabbit) is said by Hofmayr to be the favourite figure in many Shilluk animal stories, and the stories quoted by him and by Westermann show how clever, and how lucky, the hare is. A story given by Hofmayr[2] about the hare's eating young crocodiles appears in a different form in Westermann,[3] where this act is attributed to Dak, the clever son of Nyikang. The moral of these stories is that astuteness and trickery, like knowledge, pay, and it seems as though unusual intelligence, ingenuity, and luck associate those who possess them with the divine intelligence, and the success for which God is the Shilluk explanation. Hofmayr gives as a translation for the Shilluk expression *juoga tarr*, 'that which I have from the highest being, my soul, my lot, luck, my other self, is favourable to me'.[4] The large number of Shilluk riddles is an indication of the high value set on cleverness and ingenuity, and it is to be expected that these qualities, held up for admiration in their stories and in their daily life, should be ideally associated with Nyikang and their kings.

The kings, and all others inspired by *juok*, are sacred because they manifest divine energy and knowledge, and they do so by being strong, cunning, and successful, as well as by appearing to be in closer touch with the supra-human than are ordinary men. The signs of this closer communion are dreams and 'hysterical' possession, or at least some outward sign of contact with a superior power. Examples of behaviour showing this are numerous. In the installation ceremonies of 1943, when the king-elect was set on the sacred stool of Nyikang at a climax in the ceremony, we are told that 'the *reth* (king) was seized with a trembling fit at the critical moment, and certainly he appeared to be in a dazed condition immediately afterwards'.[5] This form of behaviour is a common sign of possession by a power greater than human among other Nilotic peoples. Though there was some reference in these ceremonies to the king as the source of justice, and to the ethical qualities necessary in a ruler, they were clearly distinct from the central religious significance of the ceremonies. So also, though we find many references in Shilluk texts to God as the helper of the poor and the final court of appeal in trouble, his activity in these respects is not to be taken as an indication that he is only or primarily an apotheosis of ethical virtue. Many of the hymns to Nyikang and God are laments that the land is being destroyed because they are not helping, and we are told that when their prayers are not answered, the Shilluk may curse Nyikang for not assisting them.[6] A Shilluk proverb says that 'God threads good and evil men on a single string', suggesting that, in some circumstances at least, God does not seem to reward virtue and punish vice.[7] In other texts he is shown as the ultimate sanction for customary ethical behaviour, as a helper, and as a

[1] 1912, p. 180.
[2] Op. cit., 155.
[3] Howell and Thomson, 1946, p. 62.
[4] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 376.
[5] 1925, p. 376.
[6] Op. cit., p. 193.
[7] Oyler, 1918 (ii), p. 285.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

judge, for, as the source of both good and evil, he can be regarded as indifferent, or friendly, or hostile, according to the judgement of the individual in any particular situation. His existence is taken for granted, and what people know or think of him does not alter nor define nor limit him. It is suggested by Hofmayr that the idea of punishment for wrong done is connected rather with the dissatisfied dead and with the ancestors than with the direct action of God. It is they who bring it about that God punishes the guilty.[1] Such beliefs are accompanied with very little elaboration of ideas about the state of the dead. Stories about the land of the dead, where all is quiet, as it is in the Shilluk capital of Fashoda, seem to represent fancies rather than traditionally formulated beliefs. The dead are in some sense nearer to God than are the living for they exist increasingly in a world of ideas, as the impressions they left upon their descendants become fainter with the passage of time; but, as another Shilluk proverb says, 'man does not think about death'. They pray that they may be helped in this life.

Association of Nyikang with Light and Knowledge

Mention was made earlier of a contest between Dak and Dimo, in which Dak struck his opponents blind, until they accepted his superiority, when he restored their sight. The same story is sometimes told of Nyikang and Duwat.[2] Since Nyikang and Dak represent the way in which the Shilluk know the order of their world, as well as being themselves examples of knowledge and intelligence, it is appropriate that the power to blind people should be attributed to them in myth. Another myth tells how Nyikang, in order to capture some sorcerers for his country, covered the earth with a shadow so that they could not see anything.[3] This association of Nyikang with seeing and light, and thus, I suggest, with knowledge and understanding, occurs again in the belief that Nyikang sometimes shows himself in dreams as a bright light;[4] he appears also, among other forms, as a white bull. Dak and other kings appear also in the form of a white egret. The logic of this symbolism is not specifically examined in the literature, but in Shilluk thought there seems to be some association between light and sight, and Nyikang and the kings. In the installation ceremonies of 1943, we are told that 'all objects of great sanctity were covered in white cloth . . . with all cattle [for sacrifice] it was evident how careful the Shilluk were to see that the animal was blindfold'.[5] At the conclusion of the sacrifices which marked the stages towards the complete installation of the king, then representing Nyikang, these wrappings were torn off. The significance of this may be partly that such objects, which are holy, are also dangerous to ordinary men who must be protected from them. In the installation ceremonies, the Shilluk fled when they supposed that Nyikang had come, and again fled from the effigy of Dak, with 'a mixture of fear and laughter'.[6] One

[1] Ibid., p. 232.
[2] Westermann, 1912, p. 168.
[3] Howell and Thomson, 1946 p. 78.
[3] Oyler, 1918, (i), p. 108.
[4] Seligman, 1932, p. 76.
[6] Ibid., p. 26.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944)1946
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The assembly had by then formed up in better order, which they retained until the *reth* stopped for refreshment. Thereafter the high grass at the side of the narrow track precluded the original formation, and Kwa Ojul went ahead, followed by Kwa Okelo, and the *reth* and the main body of the people behind. 643

On reaching the outskirts of Akwabai about half a mile from Debalo, the first messenger of the *reth* ran ahead to bear news to Nyikang of the *reth's* approach. The *reth's* messengers are said to be Kwa Otwot, and it would follow that they are members of one clan In fact they are chosen from many clans (Note 11). [614 202]

Shortly after the despatch of the first messenger, the *reth* retired to the Arab merchant's shop for rest and refreshment, and the crowds squatted down on the grass ahead. After an interval of ten minutes, the *reth* came out again, and, walking fast, took up his position with the Ororo and Kwareth once more, and the procession moved off again in the direction of Fashoda. By this time the party had reached Khor Arepejur and spread out in a long line several ranks deep and parallel to the watercourse. The crowd was obviously larger than at Debalo, for people had been joining in en route, and late-comers had caught up. Others broke away and ran off to nearby villages, where they left their spears and collected millet stalks for the struggle with Nyikang which was to follow.

The Crossing of the Watercourse.

On the opposite side of the watercourse Jago Thabo, the titular chief of Gol Dhiang, with a small party of warriors had arrived to hand over the black bull, over which the *reth* must step before crossing Arepejur, and bearing with them a fish spear wrapped round with a grass mat, another of the many sacred spears of Nyikang. On the other side also were two members of the Kwa Mal carrying a chicken with which they swept the path of the *reth* after he had crossed over.

Just before the *reth* and his followers reached the watercourse a "dust-devil" was seen whirling down towards Fashoda and this was [773 787 821]

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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a significant omen to the Shilluk, for they say that Nyikang disappeared in a dust-storm and returns with the wind.

Meanwhile those warriors who had run off to fetch millet stalks had rejoined the ranks of the *reth's* army and already the dust raised by the host of Nyikang marching down towards Fashoda could be seen in the distance. Finally the army of Nyikang appeared on the horizon just west of Fashoda, the feathered head of Nyikang in their midst and Dak towering above them. At this point a messenger ran forward to Nyikang bearing a message from the *reth*. This man made two journeys between the opposing forces and returned for the second time just before the *reth* crossed the watercourse (Note 12). The *reth*, who had been standing at the head of his forces and immediately behind his shield-bearer, then walked forward and, holding the small girl *nya kwer* by the hand, stepped over the sheep which had been cast on the ground in front of him, advanced a few paces, and stepped right over the black bull which lay bound on the very edge of the watercourse, and then walked swiftly across to the other side.

The March of Nyikang from Adodo Nyigir to Fashoda.

The simultaneous advance on Fashoda by Nyikang, Dak and their followers is described by the Rev. D. McClure as follows:-

"On the morning of the induction of the Shilluk king at Fashoda we went early to the village of Adodo, in the district of Nyigir, to watch the procession of Nyikang and Dak from Adodo to Fashoda, a distance of about two miles. We arrived at the village about 7 a.m., and found the place filled with men (the women keeping to their houses), and most of them gathered about a small black bull, which was being peacefully brushed with grass and the horns brightened with oil. Then a group of twelve young men called the Golbany led the bull outside the village, and made ready to start for Fashoda. They waited until three old men appeared from the huts, in which Nyikang and Dak were residing, each carrying a sacred spear, which they carried with the spearhead upwards; and the spear handle was never allowed to

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24: Howell E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

In the meantime, I had driven along the road until, about two miles north of Fashoda, I met Nyikang, Dak and their followers moving at great speed towards the capital. I followed them for a while and then took up a good position immediately west of Fashoda in the open grass where I knew the opposing forces would meet. Nyikang soon arrived and halted, drums beating and the shield-bearer dancing forward in defiance of the *reth* and his army who were by then appearing over the crest of the northern bank of Arepejur. The *kwa* Nyikwom, armed with whips, then dashed forward and those armed with millet stalks met in a disorderly and not very spectacular clash well to the west of the main party. Then, as the *reth* and his personal guards drew near, Nyikang and Dak rushed up to him, surrounded him and bore him off towards Fashoda, while a furious battle took place between the opposing forces, the *kwa* Nyikwom lashing out with their whips without mercy.

Outside the shrine, which had been beautifully cleaned and decorated for the occasion, the royal stool (*kwom*), wrapped in white cloth, was ready. As Nyikang and his captive drew near, the white canopy was thrown around them. It was therefore not easy to see what happened, and it would have been unseemly to push behind the screen, but it was clear that the substitution had taken place a few minutes later when Nyikang withdrew into the shrine.

A short time afterwards, the *reth's* feet were bathed and he was carried to the temporary camp opposite. He emerged again almost immediately to make passes over the bull, covered in white cloth and a leopard-skin, with the traditional weapons handed to him for the purpose, and then entered *Adul* once more, while the beast was sacrificed, falling on its side about fifty yards away. The man responsible for spearing it[*] was seen running rapidly towards the river where he must wash the blood from the blade and purify himself in the water. A fire was then lit inside one of the two small huts in the camp and water was heated in which the *reth* was bathed."

This ended the first day of the installation. The *reth* was safely in seclusion within *Adul*, and although not free from danger yet, had successfully passed one of the most dangerous periods of the whole procedure. The only other ceremony performed that day was the lighting of fire outside the camp

[*] From the *kwa* Nyiboc of Limo.

[†] In conversation with Shilluk after the event, I was informed that during his stay at *Adul*, the temporary camp, the *reth* is expected to have sexual intercourse with one of his half-sisters. The custom (*kwong*) is said to derive from Dak, who, infuriated by Nyikang's action in giving his mother, Akec, to Cal (or Burro, another brother), took one of his half-sisters who eventually gave birth to Ocolo. Nyikang was apparently outraged by this action, but decreed that thereafter every *reth* should take one of his half-sisters. This story is recorded by Hofmayr (see Bibliography), but I had not realised that the act—a ritual breach of the rules of exogamy and called *ahuolo*—actually takes place. It is also said that members of the *kwareth* have to do likewise when they are appointed chiefs (*jago*) though it is admitted that the woman is usually a more remote kinswoman than a half-sister. The act is none the less one of incest. The matter needs further investigation.

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

any ostrich they may meet will stand until they have plucked the requisite feathers. Further they are believed to produce Nyakang from the river by stabbing a cow in sacrifice on the bank of the Nile).

When all was ready, Nyakang started on its journey with a large following and proceeded at a leisurely pace. The road is cleared for it from Kaka to Fashoda. It passed Kodok on 11th January 1918.

As Nyakang draws near, the selected Ret is supposed to go to Dabalu in Akwom and stay there for one night before the actual ceremony. In this specific instance Fafiti went to Akwom three days before the ceremony and was installed in Fashoda on the 4th morning. Different chiefs gave varying answers as to the number of nights which it was essential for the Ret to stay in Dabalu : it would appear however that the Ret really goes there when everything is nearly ready; but if for any reason some delay occurs, a day or two is considered immaterial, which is in accordance with all native Sudan custom. In the present instance I understand Ajang wad Amoich of Akwom, whose duty it was had neglected to give due notice to the Southern chiefs, and so Kwa Mal [1] only arrived on the 16th instead of two days earlier.

B. — NARRATIVE (JANUARY 17TH, 1918).

I arrived Fashoda about 7.30 a.m. While waiting I examined the shrine of Nyakang [2] from outside, and the temporary huts [3] built for the Ret,

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[1] Kwa (descendants of) Mal stated by Westermann, p. 198 to be founded by a man and woman, who came down from above. They left children on earth : their home is Malakal. They receive from the Ret the black bull over which the Ret steps before crossing the Khor; this is their reward for whipping on any that dally in following the Ret.

[2] The shrine of Nyakang consists of two well built circular mud huts with grass roofs surmounted by an ostrich egg and a spear blade. The whole is enclosed in a fence. The grey mud walls are painted in different coloured stripes with spots dotted on them as shown in Seligman's illustration of Nyakang at Famikang fig. 55. The guardian is an old ex-wife of the Ret; small children are also allowed to enter. No woman who is pregnant can enter the shrine. The guardian has a little hut apart.

[3] About 30 yards distant there is a practical miniature of the shrine, a temporary building completely made of grass especially erected for the Ret to live in after the installation prior to his going up to his real house on the mound.

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

he accepts, and we are informed that one cow, one bull and five spears have been offered and taken. Further I was told that the messengers carry straws symbolical of the above offers (the common practice of Shilluk accounting), but this I cannot vouch for, as we could not see it. When the amount has been fixed, Nyakang appeared to advance steadily and rapidly, only making one sharp rectangular turn in our direction, and as I understood that Nyakang's people could hold to ransom (in cows) any one whom they caught, I made a slight alteration in my position.

At this moment from the side some seventy or eighty of the Ret's wives came dancing towards Nyakang's army holding their hands out palm upwards and chanting *ya bia, ya bia* «come come».

The Ret's army now moves rapidly forward to the khor. I saw in front a small black bull, across which the Ret is said to step before crossing the khor. Tradition states it is important for the new Ret to cross this khor dryshod. As there was still water there, Fafiti was taken across in his toror (Shilluk boat), but owing to the crowd I could not see this. Just as the army gets to the khor, there is a sudden headlong flight by every one, due to the right possessed by the Kwa Mal of flogging any one that tarries or delays crossing the khor with the Ret. The Kwa Mal apparently used their whips with good effect, and soon the whole army was across. For this service Fafiti gives the black bull to the Kwa Mal.

I could not distinguish Fafiti, who in accordance with custom was dressed in the ordinary Shilluk lau (cloth) and with a dingy red and yellow turban on his head. He was holding by his hand a tiny girl brought by the Kwa Okel [1]. In front of him came the people of Kwa Okel dragging forward a white bull tail first. The two armies then meet. Nyakang and

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[1] Kwa Okel. Founded by people that Nyakang found in the Shilluk country. They help in building the house of Nyakang when a king is crowned. They give one of their daughters to the king. The girl is known as Nya Kwer (*i. e.* a girl of the authorities, girl of taxes).

They are sometimes identified with Kwa Kelo — a section founded by Okelo a servant of Nyakang who taught the Shilluks how to prepare the mud for the Tuki (hearth stones). Another tradition states that Okelo was a Nuba, whose sister was married by Nyakang (*cf.* Westermann, p. 129 et seq., lists of clans made out by Rev. D. Oyler, of Dolcib Hill).

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643 his followers immediately put to flight the Ret's Army with whips, and the Ret is captured by Nyakang. The Ret is then deserted by all but the small girl, and is surrounded by Nyakang's company. Fafiti could now be seen holding Nyakang by its cylindrical body, so that the ostrich feathers flaunted on his head.

After a pause Nyakang and the Ret, accompanied now by a large crowd, proceed to the old place of the pond at Fashoda. Here the white bull of Kwa Okel is again seen. It has been enwrapped in clothes and blindfolded and is closely surrounded by its own people. Nyakang, the Ret, and the small girl circle twice round this, and then the Ret is lifted up and carried at full length by the Ororo [1] in company with Nyakang which is also carried aloft. As they leave the place of the pond there is a great rush and the clothes are stripped of the bull and torn into shreds presumably to be kept as mementos. Nyakang and the Ret are then carried to the Shrine of Nyakang and in front of its threshold can be seen the sacred stool, which has been brought from the palace. This throne chair is a squat stool with four squat legs covered with white cloth and leopard skin. In front of the stool, to act as a veil, a large strip of white dammur with a small red line in it is held up. It is only effective to keep out the vulgar gaze on three sides, and at the back the Shrine of Nyakang should presumably prevent any one seeing what occurs.

Nyakang is then placed on the stool, and the Ret is said to hold its two front legs. Inside the cloth are three people, the Ret, the small girl of Kwa Okel, and the man holding Nyakang.

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[1] Ororo. This class seems full of mystery: cf. Westermann, p. 129 et seq., §§ 10, 23, and 27. It is certain that the ancestor from whom they came was «Kwaret». According to Fafiti, they were the men of Odak son of Nyakang: a fight occurred between them and the Dinkas. All the older men were killed by the Dinkas, but some of the children were left. At this time Dwat should have become Ret, but his position was usurped, and much trouble fell upon the Shilluks. Finally Dwat came to his own, and he then took from these others the right of ever succeeding to the Retship. Since Dwat's time no one has become an Ororo although many have lost their rights of succession. Their present rights at an election are: *a*) to carry the Ret; *b*) to guard him throughout the ceremonies. Further at the death of a Ret they make the shroud. The Ret on election is given one girl as a wife from the children of the Ororo.

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Observation here was very difficult owing to the curtain, the moving crowd, and the fact that the Ret's most ancient wife would keep on dancing in front of the only possible view.

I therefore moved my position to where I noticed some ancient cronies, who were past the age of reverence and merely inquisitive, and from which place one could see behind the curtain. Shortly after I had moved the Ret's wazir was called for: he was Yomon wad Ker (Kwaniaret). Nyakang was then withdrawn by his attendant backwards and the Ret took his seat on the sacred stool. His wazir then grasped the two front feet of the stool presumably in token of the submission and fealty of the Shilluk race, and in recognition that Nyakang's mantle had descended upon him.

Then occurs much tomtoming and dancing, in which the people concerned are wives of the Ret and people of Akurwa, while the Ret sat like a graven image on the chair. At this time I noticed smoke issuing from the temporary tukls and asked what it was for. I was informed that the Ret's wives were warming water for the ablutions. Presently when this was ready two or three of them came and washed the new Ret's feet in hot and cold water, the significance of which is that the Ret shall be neither too cold nor too hot with his people, i. e. just.

The Ret was then lifted up by the Ororo and carried to where a bull covered with a leopard skin had been brought by Kwa Ujalu[1] on the threshold of his "temporary hut". He appeared to make certain passes, four in number, over this with a large sword, which was handed to him. The bull was then speared and carried away struggling for a short distance, and the Ret was then taken to his hut, which ended the proceedings temporarily. As we left the scene, the sacred stool was carried past us by four men running and taken up to the Ret's palace on the mound.

I was told Fañiti was to stay in his temporary hut for three days, and at the end of that period is taken up to his palace.

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[1] Kwa Ujalu is probably identical with Kwa Ajal, who were founded by Jal. They live at Nyal Wok and lay out the circle for building the house of Nyakang (cp. Westermann, p. 128 clan list compiled by Rev. D. Oyler of Dakaib Hill). Local tradition says they have the right given them by Nyakang of taking captives any girls they may meet and holding them to ransom.